O EL!

A STUDY OF TITLES AND EPITHETS ATTRIBUTED TO EL IN WEST SEMITIC RELIGION, LITERATURE AND PERSONAL NAMES

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CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
1	Introduction	1
2	Epithets and Titles of El in the Texts from Ugarit	5
3	Titles and Epithets of El in the Hebrew Bible	73
4	Epithets of El in Extra Biblical Hebrew	109
5	Epithets and Titles of El in Phoenician	114
6	El in the Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos	122
7	El in the Incantations from Arslan Tash	142
8	El in the Proverbs of Ahiqar	148
9	An Epithet of El in the Homs Amulet, Syria	159
10	El in Ammonite Religion	161
11	El in the Deir ʿAlla Plaster Inscriptions	165
12	El in the Plaster Inscriptions from Kuntillet ʿAjrud	172
13	Personal Names Formed with the DN *ʾl*	182
14	Conclusions	240
	Abbreviations	250
	Bibliography	255

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This thesis is a study of the epithets and titles attributed to El in West Semitic literature, with reference to personal names that feature elements that correlate to the epithets we find in the literature.

Surprisingly, only two detailed studies have been published concerning this god who is important for students of both Ugaritic and Biblical Studies, considering the relationship posited between El and Yahweh.[1] Since Pope's work, many articles have discussed various aspects of El's character and position in the pantheon of the ancient Near East, as well as attempting to offer new interpretations for the vocabulary connected with his acts and the response of his worshippers towards him,[2] but as far as his many epithets and titles go, no detailed study has been attempted.

This thesis is, therefore, an attempt to begin such a study and it is hoped that others will follow in this venture, not just in continuing and improving the study of El epithets, but also in extending such a study to the other gods of the Syro-Palestinian pantheon.

In this thesis I shall focus mainly on the epithets found in the religious

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1 Eissfeldt (1951); Pope (1955).

2 Burrows (1940); Della Vida (1944); Eissfeldt (1956); Cross (1962; 1973); Weippert (1962); Miller (1967; 1980); Bailey (1968); Oldenburg (1969; 1970); de Vaux (1969); Abel (1973); Parker (1977); L'Heureux (1979); Pope (1979; 1987); Kapelrud (1980a) de Moor (1980); Wifall (1980); Biale (1981); Knauf (1985); Coogan (1987); Dijkstra (1987a; 1993); Lipiński (1988); Vaughn (1993); Daviau-Dion (1994); Herrmann (1995);

texts from Ugarit — including those preserved in the Hurrian language, as they were recorded on tablets using the alphabetic cuneiform of Ugarit and may, therefore, preserve (albeit as calques) Semitic epithets otherwise unattested in Ugaritic — the Hebrew Bible and such recent finds as the texts from Arslan Tash, Deir ʿAlla, Kuntillet ʿAjrud and the amulet from Homs, Syria. This is supplemented by the evidence offered by, Philo of Byblos, and the by the sayings found in *Ahiqar* which apparently mention El. Inscriptional material from the Phoenicio-Punic world is also included in the absence of literary texts, as are also the meagre finds in Inscriptional, or Extra Biblical Hebrew. Finally, I discuss some of the numerous personal names compounded with the DN *ʾl* from all periods and areas of the Semitic realm in the hope that these too show evidence for epithets and titles attributed to El.

The reason for attempting this study of epithets was occasioned by my observation that while many studies have referred to these epithets, or have even discussed or suggested meanings for the vocabulary of these epithets, no study of these epithets as a whole has ever been attempted. While Pope in his mongraph lists (and briefly discusses) most of the epithets attributed to El, no real attempt is made to discover whether or not the meanings attributed to these epithets are correct. Here, it is hoped, such an attempt will be made.

The original object of this thesis was to study the evidence for the worship of the god El at Ugarit, but I soon became interested in the epithets attributed to El. What interested me was the observation that the epithets seemed more like words of flattery intended to gain the god's attention rather than being mere descriptions of attributes or characteristics of the deity involved.

The similarity of such a view is also visible in personal names, so I decided to include a survey of those names that contain the DN *il*. Further, some personal names seem to preserve descriptions of El not current in the

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Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín (1999); Watson (2001).

literary tablets, where he appears as a leading character, so I decided to look also at the words used in epithets used to describe El in the surrounding West Semitic languages and also the personal names in those traditions, particularly the rare ones.

The criterion used to determine epithets, otherwise unidentified by previous scholars is quite simple. Any word(s) preceding or following the divine name *ʾl* that appear to be either descriptions of El, or are essentially superfluous to the narrative in which they are found, are examined to discover whether or not they are epithets as the following example shows: *wyʿn l ṯr il abh*, where *wyʿn l il*, 'and he replied to (Bull) El (his father)', would suffice. Of course, as is common in Semitic poetry, parallel terms are more often than not dictated by prosodic principles,[3] but where the divine name El is absent from the second line of the parallel pair, it must be admitted that the personal name of the god has been replaced by words used to describe the god in 'epithetic' fashion, e.g.:

KTU 1.4:iii:30-32

mgntm ṯr il d pid	Have you begged Bull, El who is clever,
hm ġẓtm bny bnwt	or pleaded with the 'Builder of built things'?

A tradition that avoided the use of epithets and parallelism would perhaps represent the above question as: **hm mgntm w ġẓtm b il*, 'have you begged or pleaded with El?' This is not to suggest that new or unknown descriptions of El are being used here, but those that are familiar to the audience and perhaps envisage the workings of the divine council in a manner familiar to the audience: that is, the type of courtly or respectful language used in addressing

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[3] For a detailed discussion of Semitic prosody, see Watson (1995a).

the king of Ugarit or the surrounding powers. Further, while the use of epithets and titles in poetry may be merely for metrical reasons, it cannot be doubted that even so, such epithets and titles still describe attributes of El perceived by his ancient worshippers. Personal names use similar synonyms in place of the god's name as well as verbs, nouns and adjectives that describe well-known attributes of the god and are therefore worthy of investigation to discover whether or not these name-elements use what may be epithets. Given the conservative nature of personal names, it is possible that epithets or titles no longer current or absent from the preserved record will be uncovered.

CHAPTER TWO

Epithets and titles of El in the texts from Ugarit

Excluding the word *il* (which occurs some 379 times), the four most common words used to describe El are: *ab*, 'Father', *ǵr*, 'Bull', *mlk*, 'King' and *ltpn*, 'Percipient'. These words are usually used in combination with other verbs, adjectives and nouns that characterize the god El. Is his characterization through his epithets in agreement with his role in the mythical tablets and do any of the epithets occur as elements in personal names, which may well attest to the archaic nature of some of the epithets and also to the earliest recorded religious 'texts' that mention or describe El? It is hoped that this survey will offer important evidence for such a view.

ab

That El's fatherhood was an important aspect of his character in Ugaritic religion is indicated by the word *ab*, 'father', possibly the most common description of El at Ugarit.[1]

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[1] *ab* as a title or description of El is preserved 56 times. The incomplete nature of the literary record makes any judgement in this respect hazardous, but so far, *ab* appears to be the most

Willis,[2] discussing the use of *ʾb* as an official term in ANE society, noted 'five different ancient Near Eastern texts or groups of texts (which) use the terms "father" (and sometimes mother)[3] to refer to high royal officials': Ebla (ca. 2500 BCE);[4] Egypt (15th century BCE);[5] Zincirli (9th century BCE);[6] Karatepe (9th-8th centuries BCE)[7] and Elephantine (late 5th century BCE).[8] The examples from Egypt,[9] Zincirli and Karatepe all refer to the king as father (as well as mother and also brother) to his people, while at Ebla and in the Elephantine papyrus of Aḥiqar, it is high officials who are called 'father(s)'. It is clear that the use of 'father' as an official title makes a comparison between the duties, responsibilities and actions of a king towards his people with those of the ideal father. As father he protects his subjects and contributes to their prosperity.[10]

Ugaritic *ab*, 'father', is found in the following phrases which employ the divine name *il* in combination with epithets and phrases: *ab adm*, *ab bn il*, *ab*

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used title along with *tr*.

2 See Willis (1996 and nn. 70-7), for further discussion and bibliography.

3 He notes here the title 'mother' conferred upon Deborah (Ju. 5:7).

4 A group of officials are called AB x ÁŠ or *abbū*, 'fathers' (TM.75.G.220; TM.75.G.247; TM.75.G.273; TM.75.G.411; TM.75.G.527; TM.76.G.89, rev. i:2-ii:5).

5 Willis cites the question posed by Rekhmire the vizier of Thutmose 3 (early 15th century BCE): 'What is the king of Upper Egypt? What is the king of Lower Egypt? He is a god, by whose normative acts one lives; he is father and mother of all men, by himself alone, without equal' (1996: 130).

6 KAI 24:10-11, *wʾnk lmy kt ʾb wlmy kt ʾm wlmy kt ʾḫ* 'I was to some a father and to some a mother and to some a brother'.

7 KAI 26 A:i:3, *pʿln bʿl ldnnym lʾb wlʾm* 'Baal made me father and mother to the Danunians'.

8 Aḥiqar, iv:55, *ʾbwh zy ʾtwr klh*, 'He (Aḥiqar) was the father of all Assyria'.

9 Note also Eg. *ity*, 'father, sovereign', Faulkner (1999: 32f.).

10 See also Roberts (1972: 148-9), who noted that the city god of Akkad during the Old Babylonian period was il_5-ba_4 was 'probably the husband of Eštar-annunîtum ... (and) appears to have been primarily a god of war'. He also drew attention to a text that describes Sargon as attributing 'his victory over Uruk and the fifty governors to the weapon of *Il-aba*, Roberts (1972: 160, n. 46). One cannot help but wonder whether *Il-aba* is another name for El.

šnm, *ad*, *adn ilm*, *il abn* and *ṯr il ab*(*h*/*k*/*y*/*n*). Other phrases describe El as 'father' without using the noun *ab* (or its cognate *ad*), such as *ltpn ḫtkk*, 'The Percipient, your father' and (*il*) *mlk d yknnh*, '(El) the king who created him'. These phrases always occur in parallel with one of the formulae above which feature *ab*. Further evidence may be gleaned from the phrase *bn il*(m), 'son of El' and the description of Athirat as mother of the gods, as well as the title *qnyt ilm*, 'Creatress of the gods', which may well preserve the feminine form of such a title applied to El: **qny* ‹*ilm*›, 'Creator ‹of divine beings›'.

There are no preserved instances in Ugaritic literature where *ab* is used absolutely, except for, possibly, the two examples discussed below and these, as we shall see, are doubtful.[11]

In the epic of *Aqhat* we read]*aby* n*dt an*k[.[12] Unfortunately, the tablet has sustained serious damage to this section, making any full reconstruction difficult, but it is clear from the surrounding context that Anat is the speaker and *aby* refers to El.[13] Margalit restored *ṯr il* before 'my father',[14] while Parker left these lines untranslated.[15] Wyatt read an instance of the word 'father' as a reference to El standing alone (albeit with an accompanying possessive marker).[16]

One of the Rephaim tablets preserves what may be a (self-proclaimed?) title of Baal: *rʿh aby*, 'Shepherd (i.e., king) of my father'.[17] If this is indeed a title, it is

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11 Instances where *ab* occurs with another DN, such as *ab w ilm* (KTU 1.123:1), will not be considered here as single attestations of *ab* in reference to El.

12 KTU 1.18:i:26]*aby* n*dt an*k[.

13 Margalit (1989: 153). Parker (1997: 64) does not read the initial *a* of *aby*.

14 Margalit (1989: 128).

15 Parker (1997: 64).

16 Wyatt (1998: 280).

17 KTU 1.22:i:27.

extremely difficult. One would expect the final *h* of *rʿh* to represent the third person possessive suffix (reading the noun as *rʿ*).

The theogonic section of KTU 1.12 features the phrase *il abn*, 'El our father'.[18] In this section of the poem Talish and Dimgay complain to El, whom they call 'our father', that the children they carry in their wombs are devouring their insides. El is apparently the father of these divine children, rather appropriately described as, *aklm*, 'eaters', *ʿqqm*, 'devourers'. The context is clearly theogonic with the action, taking place in El's presence, at the tree located in the centre of the world. This passage once more associates (see also KTU 1.23) the naming of El as father with his role as father of the children to be born and father of the women he has impregnated.

Surprisingly, given the number of epithets representing El's fatherhood, the combination *ab* + *il* is attested once only in the Ugaritic onomasticon.[19] However, three interpretations are possible for the personal name *ilabn*: (i) ab, 'father' + 1st pl. poss. suff. -n, 'El (is) our father';[20] (ii) ab, 'father' + final -n, 'El is (the) father'; (iii) abn, 'stone', 'El is the stone'.[21]

(i) In KTU 1.12:i:9 the phrase *il abn*, 'El our father', is uttered by the pregnant deities Talish and Dimgay, handmaids (*amt*) of Yarih and Athirat respectively, during a difficult pregnancy. It would not be difficult to imagine that during a difficult labour, the name of El should be invoked, as is probably the situation envisaged in the short song appended to the Nikkal text,[22] which I have

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18 KTU 1.12:i:12.

19 KTU 4.226:3.

20 Gröndahl (1967: 46, 87, 94), '*El ist unser Vater*'. Benz (1972: 54) notes the Pun. PN *ʾbnbʿl*, 'Our father is Baal' (CIS 476:5), which may be (p. 258) an 'error in writing ʾDN'.

21 Watson (1990: 116); Astour (1968: 174).

22 KTU 1.24:40-50.

previously suggested is an incantation for a difficult labour (the deities who are invoked, along with El, are the Kotharat, the Ugaritian goddesses of childbirth).[23] Although the incantation does not call El 'father', it does provide evidence that El was certainly seen to be involved in childbirth, so much so, that he is invoked by the honorific title *lẓpn il d pid*, which probably refers to his wisdom regarding the correct moment of birth, and credited with providing *lay*, 'strength', for the woman in labour, as we find in KTU 1.12.[24]

(ii) 'El is (the) father'. Wilfred Watson, in a previous study of Ugaritic anthroponyms, suggested that the final *-n* could be taken as a paragogic, rather than a suffix form.[25] This view has merit, but we have no further attestations of his proposed form to compare. This suggestion, if it is to be accepted, should be understood as preliminary for the present.

(iii) *abn*, 'stone', 'El is the stone', a description otherwise unattested, although we should perhaps compare Heb. *ṣwr*, 'rock', found in the biblical PNs *ṣwryʾl* and *ṣwryšdy*, which Layton classified as Canaanite.[26] The Amorite root *abn* remains unexplained, but there are a few examples of names formulated with *ṣr* (**ṣūr*), with the anthroponym *ṣú-ri-*A[N] particularly relevant.[27]

ab adm

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23 In my 1998 undergraduate dissertation, which discusses KTU 1.24.

24 El names the deities, a duty of the father. The first part of KTU 1.12 is theogonic in character, with the extreme likelihood that it is El who is the father of the sons about to be born.

25 Watson (1990: 126, and n. 94 for refs.).

26 *ṣwryʾl* (Nu. 3:35); *ṣwryšdy* (Nu. 1:6; 2:12; 7:36, 41; 10:19). See the comments of Layton (1990: 121, also n. 69; 148). See the Emar PNN *Abini* our father, *Abnu* stone and *Abu* father in Pruzsinzsky (2003: 73-4).

27 *ARMT* ix. 291:iv:7 . Huffmon (1965: 258).

The description of deity as *ab adm*, commonly translated as 'Father of man', is unattested in other Semitic languages.[28] While it is true that gods are generally called 'father', either of other gods, people, and even of bovines,[29] the combination *ab adm* is thus far only found at Ugarit, a mere seven times, all in *Keret*, and all on the first tablet of the series.[30]

Since Virolleaud's 1936 study of the *Keret* tablets, the phrase *ab adm* has been commonly translated 'Father of man(kind)',[31] *ab adm* is often compared with the title *bny bnwt*, understood to mean 'Creator of living beings', and taken as evidence that Ugaritians perceived El as the creator of humanity.[32] Pope saw in the phrase 'Father of man' a figurative reference to El's 'bestow(al) of fecundity on Danel and Keret' and concluded that El, 'was thought to do the same for humanity at large both in normal and abnormal cases, just as in the O.T. YHWH grants and withholds fertility'[33] He accepted that El is probably 'Creator of man', but cautioned that this does not mean or imply that he is also creator of the world, 'all the Ugaritic allusions to El's creativity are in terms of generation and paternity'.[34]

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28 Fensham (1971: 48). Ullendorf (1963: 246), made a comparison between *ab adm* and Gk. πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, Homer: *Il.* 1.544; 4.68; *Od.* 12.445; 18.137, etc. Zeus is also known by the title πατὴρ Κρονίδης, 'Father, son of Kronos'.

29 El is called *ab bn il* (KTU 1.40:[8]), while KTU 1.23 and KTU 1.24 give an explicit description of *coitus divinatus*, both of which result in the birth of gods; Baal fathers a bull: (KTU 1.10:iii:20), people (Mesop./HB).

30 KTU 1.14:i:37, 43; iii:32, 47; v:[43]; vi:13, 32.

31 Including Albright (1946: 14), *TO i* (1974: 59), de Moor (1980: 173).

32 E.g. Albright (1946: 35), Pope (1955: 50), Cross (1973: 15), Gibson (1978: 83), Mullen (1980: 13) and Greenstein (1997: 13).

33 Pope (1955: 47), author's emphasis.

34 A view supported by Rendtorff (1966: 287), who writes: '*Es ist deshalb nicht erlaubt, das Bild des ugaritischen El nach der Titulatur von Gen 14 "aufzufüllen" und ihn als Weltschöpfer zu verstehen*'.

Fensham was uncertain 'whether the expression *ab adm* refers to Ilu as the creator of mankind or only as the head or headgod of mankind'. He pointed to the use of the verb *qny* in combination with *il* as evidence that 'the idea of Ilu as creator was not at all foreign to the Canaanites', and concluded, by reference to Deut. 32:6,[35] that it is indeed probable that *ab adm* predicates El as 'Father of man(kind)'.[36] While it is true that the verb *qny* is predicated of El, the claim that 'El is our Creator' (*il qnyn*) is only ever found on the lips of Baal.[37] The phrases *qny* [w] *adn* [bn i]*lm*, 'Creator and father of the gods'[38] and *qnyt ilm*, 'Creatress of the gods',[39] used of El and Athirat respectively, are never applied to humans. We never read *adm*, *bnwt*, or even *lim*, as direct objects of this act, only ever *ilm*. It is, therefore, difficult to see how the use of the verb *qny* with El as subject can be used to support the view that *ab adm* means 'Father of man(kind)'.

There are three occasions in Ugaritic where the word *adm* means '(hu)man'. In the description of Anat's bloodbath the parallelism of the words *adm* and *lim*, 'people',[40] confirms that *adm* was used for humans in general at Ugarit. Secondly, the (broken) description of a man becoming ill (after being bitten by a snake?[41]) uses *adm* to indicate a human[42] and finally, in the text recently entitled '*An Incantation for the Exorcism of a Possessed Adolescent*',[43] we find that while the

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35 Deut. 32:6, *hlw²-hw² ²byk qnk*, 'Is not he your father who created you?"

36 Fensham (1971: 49).

37 KTU 1.10:iii:5.

38 KTU 1.3:v:9. The use of *qny* [w] *adn* [bn i]*lm* (KTU 1.3:v:9) replaces the expected title *ab šnm*.

39 KTU 1.4:iii:26.

40 KTU 1.3:ii:7-8.

41 See Wyatt (1998: 391, n. 2).

42 KTU 1.107:3.

43 KTU 1.169:14-5; Wyatt (1998: 442-9).

patient recovers he, '(turns) into a man (*adm*), and one who has breath on earth, the madman (turns) into a human (*bn adm*)'.

Unfortunately none of these passages offers any constructive evidence regarding whether or not *ab adm* should be understood as 'Father of (hu)man(s)'; so this interpretation of the title remains inconclusive.

Two further interpretations are possible regarding the meaning of this title, both of which refer to El's paternity of divine, not human, beings: (i) 'father of (Primal) Man' (i.e., the king), and (ii) 'father of the goddess Adum(m)a'.

(i) Father of Primal Man. Wyatt understands *ab adm* to be an ideological title, describing El as father of the king, identified here as 'Primal Man' (*adm*) and divine.[44] This divinity is alluded to in *Keret*, where El refers to himself as Keret's father:[45]

'What is wrong with Keret that he weeps,
that he sobs, the Gracious One, Heir of El (*nʿmn ġlm il*)?
Is it the kingship of Bull, his father (*tr abh*) that he seeks?
or, dominion like the Father of Man (*ab adm*)?'

Note that El equates the word *adm* with kingship. The words of Keret's children when their father lies critically ill support the view that the king of Ugarit was (or at least claimed to be) divine; a son of El, like the other gods:

KTU 1.16:i:3-4, 20-23

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[44] Wyatt (1998: 183f., n. 30).

[45] KTU 1.14:i:38-43. For a detailed discussion of W.Sem. conceptions of the divinity of the king, see Wyatt (1999). Note also Akk. *admu/(w)atmu*, 'young man' CAD A/2, 497.

ap ab ik mtm tmtn	Yet father, how can you possibly die?
...	...
ap krt bnm il	Is Keret then the son of El,
šph ltpn w qdš	the offspring of the Percipient, and holy?[46]
b ḥyk abn ašmḥ	In your life, our father, we rejoiced;
bl mtk ngln	in your immortality we took delight
...	...
ap ab k mtm tmtn	Yet, father, how can you possibly die?
...	...
i km yrgm	How can it be said
bn il krt	that Keret is the son of El,
šph ltpn w qdš	the offspring of the Percipient, and holy?
u ilm tmtn	Or do gods die,
šph ltpn l yḥ	the offspring of the Percipient One not live?

It appears that these words betray the thought that Keret's death would suggest that he was not, after all, a son of El.[47] But perhaps the implication behind the statement is not that his death would prove his mortality, but that his death would confirm his divine royal status. Like Baal, the king also dies.[48] The implications this observation has for Anat's offer of eternal life to Aqhat is obvious.

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[46] I have attempted to show the ambiguity of the term *qdš*, here, which may be applied to either El or Keret. See the similar ambiguity with the word *ġzr*, 'hero', in the phrase, *ydd il ġzr*, '(Mot) the beloved of El, the Hero (KTU 1.6:vi:30f.). Here again the final epithet could apply to El or to Mot.

[47] Parker (1977), Loewenstamm (1979: 508). It is quite probable that this concept is explored/critiqued in Aqhat's reply to Anat's promise of what appears to be eternal life (KTU 1.17:vi:16ff.), but could also imply Baal's death.

[48] Wyatt (1997: 782), proposes that *Keret* represents an opposing claim to the throne of Ugarit than that of Niqmaddu ii, explaining this passage as 'addressing the circumstances of

Kothar-wa-Hassis' proclamation that Baal will be king after he defeats Yam, likewise presents the view that kingship and immortality are related: 'Take your everlasting kingship, your eternal dominion'.[49]

Adam in the biblical Creation myth, as Primal Man, is 'like a god';[50] divine and eternal, enthroned on the holy mountain in Eden, as Ezekiel reminds us in his oracle against the king of Tyre:

> And you said: 'I am El.
> In the dwelling of the gods, I sit enthroned;
> in the heart of the sea.' ...
> You were in Eden — the garden of the gods ...
> You were an anointed cherub; the guardian,
> and I placed you on the holy mountain of the gods.'[51]
>
> (Ezek. 28:2, 13a, 14)

(ii) Father of Adum(m)u. The so-called Hurrian goddess Adama/Adamma, attested at Ugarit,[52] has been convincingly shown by Robert Stieglitz to be 'a Semitic name, or title, of a netherworld goddess (*ʾAdum*) associated with Reshep, the lord of the netherworld', whose name is evoked in the biblical word *ʾdwm*,

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Niqmaddu's predecessor, however elliptically, thus falsifying his claims or those of his natural heir in favour of those of Niqmaddu himself'. The death of Keret, in this view, is no critique of kingship in general, but only of the claims of one individual (see here Ezek. 28).

49 KTU 1.2:iv:10.

50 Gen. 3:5.

51 See especially Ezek. 28:2, 13a, 14. For verse 14, see Wyatt (1996: 60).

52 Laroche (1968: 148-50); Xella (1981: 398f.). Zadok (1993: 318), noted the vocalization *Ad-mu*, in the PNs ^{fd}*Ad-mu-ru-ma* ('Admu-is-exalted'), ^{f}*Ad-mu-ḫa-al-ṣa* ('Admu-offers-[the-breast]?', cf. Lam. 4:3), ^{f}*Ad-mu-um-mi* ('Admu-is-my-mother'), as well as the toponym *Ad-ma-tim*.

'red (earth)'.[53] This Adam(m)a, he notes, also appears at Ebla in connection with Reshep (Rasap)[54] and is also found as the theophoric element of three personal names.[55] Lambert drew attention to the existence of a goddess called ^{d}NIN.*ad-mu* ('Lady Earth', = W.Sem. **rbt adm*) who is also called 'wife of Nergal'.[56] Further corroboration for this identification may be found in the Leiden Magical Papyrus,[57] where the goddess *itwm* is identified as the wife of Reshep.[58]

Evidence for this goddess is also discernible in the Phoenicio-Punic personal names *ʾdm*[59] and *ʿbd-ʾdm*.[60] The elements *mlk* and *ʿbd* are common theophoric elements in Semitic personal names. A theophoric interpretation should also be applied to the biblical name *ʿObed-ʾEdom*.[61]

At Babylon, Allatu,[62] consort of Reshep, corresponds to the divine name *arṣy*[63] in the Ugaritic pantheon lists,[64] although paternity of this deity is claimed

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53 Stieglitz (1990: 81). See also Albright (1968: 140) and Pomponio & Xella (1997: 352).

54 ARET 2:112; 3:310.

55 Pomponio-Xella (1997: 352), *a-da*-AD.MU (*PET*, 118) *i-da*-AD.MU (*PET*, 199) *and táš-da-ad-mu* (*PET*, 298, UR-*da*-AD.MU).

56 M.A.R.I. 4, 1985, p. 530.

57 Dahood (1963: 292).

58 *nꜣ n mwt n ršp ḥnᶜ itwm tꜣ=f ḥm.t*, 'the poison of Reshep and his wife *Itwm*'. Leiden Magical Papyrus i 343 + i 345, recto v:6f.

59 CIS 156:2, Benz (1972: 55).

60 CIS 295:4, Benz (1972: 149).

61 2 Sam. 6:10-12 // 1 Chr. 13:13-14; 15:25. Vocalisation of the biblical PN *ʾbdʿdm* is suggested by Stieglitz (1990: 81). See LXX which offers both Abeddara and *abeddadan* (L^{T}) at 2 Sam. 6:10.

62 *Allatu(m)* is also known as Ereshkigal, the Babylonian goddess of the underworld (Sum. KI-GAL, 'great below'), Penglase (1994: 26).

63 Dahood (1963: 292), Astour (1969: 12), Watson (1993: 54). The Sem. epithet *qn ʾrṣ* (and biblical *ʾl ʿlywn qnh šmym w ʾrṣ*, Gen. 14:19, 22), may also refer to El's role as father, rather than that of creator.

64 KTU 1.47:23 ([a]*rṣy*); KTU 1.118:22 (*arṣy*); RS 20.24:22 (d*al-la-tum*).

for Mot.[65] The underworld connection with *arṣy* is made explicit in KTU 1.106,[66] a ritual connected with death,[67] and in the divine pair *arṣ w šmm*, in the pantheon lists.[68] Note also the Hurro-Ugaritian sacrificial hymn to El,[69] which contains, according to Dijkstra, 'two epithets of Canaanite El' as creator of earth and overseer of heaven'.[70]

If *ab adm* is to be translated 'Father of Adam(m)a', we would have a chthonian counterpart for the celestial title *ab šnm*, 'Father of the Bright One' (i.e., Shanimu), providing two pairs of 'gatekeepers' for El and Shapsh/Athirat-Rahmay: *tkmn w šnm* and **ršp w adm*.[71] The unspoken phrase **ab mlk*, which is suggested in the above references to El as father of Keret, and Keret as El's son and the earthly king, complete with wife (*mlk w mlkt*),[72] complete the tripartite model of the universe.[73]

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65 KTU 1.3:iii:8. Wyatt (1998: 77, n.40) who also draws attention to Gk. *Ersē* (1998: 77, 39), who may be the recipient of a votive donation of oil at Knossos (*e-ru-sa*, KN Fh 998), although this Myc. DN may alternatively be the equivalent of Sem. *ḥrš*.

66 Watson (1993: 54).

67 Del Olmo Lete (1999: 231f.).

68 KTU 1.47:12 ([arṣ] *w šmm*); KTU 1.118:11 (*arṣ w šmm*); KTU 1.148:24 (*arṣ w šmm*); RS 20.24:11 (^{d}IDIM *ù* IDIM).

69 KTU 1.128:1-2.

70 Dijkstra (1993: 159). This is also the sequence found in Gen. 2:5, which may be related to the traditions Ezekiel draws upon (Ezek. 28).

71 The combination *ršp w adm* occurs in KTU 1.78:4-5, although its interpretation is disputed (Pardee 2000: 416-27). Cf also KTU 1.6:vi:50-53. The barque of the sun-god Re is manned at the prow by Seth (identified with Reshep in Egypt) who slays the serpent Apepi. One wonders whether Reshep did not perform a similar function for Shapsh in Ugaritian mythology. In KTU 1.78:3, Reshep is named *ṯġr*, 'gatekeeper', of Shapsh, while at Ebla he had a gate named after him, see Stieglitz (1990).

72 Perhaps the king and queen perform this role in KTU 1.23:7.

73 See the discussion of Wyatt (1996: 20ff.) with further references. KTU 1.24:4-7 may preserve the description of the birth of such a divine pair.

The suspicion of Cross that *ab šnm* is a 'frozen formula'[74] may be applicable also to *ab adm*. Although Cross thought that the frozen form was the masc. pl. of *šnt*, 'year', there is no reason why the above interpretation cannot be seen in a similar light. As with the problematic El titles found in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., *ʾl ʿlywn*, *ʾl šdy*), it is possible that an archaic phrase could, over time, lose its original meaning ('Father of Adam[m]a) and be reapplied to the king as *adm*, Primal man, and understood to be a reference to the divine parentage of the king.[75]

Regardless of what the original significance of the term *ab adm* may have been, in *Keret*, two narrative contexts present the concept of El as the father of the king: (i) Keret's dream, and (ii) Pabil's embassy to Keret; although, it should be noticed, that Keret's campaign against Pabil occurs within the framework of the dream.

(i) Keret's dream. The use of of *bny bnwt* in Baal's request that El grant Danel offspring,[76] is often compared with the description of El in *Keret* as *ab adm*, and appealed to as evidence that El was a creator god at Ugarit. The phrase *ab adm* does, it must be admitted, occur in a similar context: a request for children in El's presence. However, the use of each title is different.

In *Aqhat*, Baal addresses El as *bny bnwt* when he requests that El bless and strengthen Danel, so that he is capable of begetting children. This suggests that Danel's problem is the inability to produce children. Further, it is the blessing of El that empowers Danel and allows him to produce children (by the traditional

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74 Cross (1973: 16, n. 24).

75 There may be also a play on words implied in the title *ab adm*: 'father of the reddened one' and 'father of the father' (*ad* + *-m* encl.). El himself orders Keret to redden himself, while the meaning 'father of the father' would be a nice touch of irony given Keret's predicament regarding children.

76 KTU 1.17:i:24.

method).[77] Danel becomes, for Aqhat **mlk abh d yknnh*, 'the king his father who begot him'.

Keret's situation is rather different. His children have all perished and his wife has left him. In despair he retires to his bed. El appears to Keret in a dream, asking what is wrong and what he wants. Keret's reply consists of a list of what he does not want, concluding with a request for children. El reveals to Keret the strategy required to achieve this goal: sacrifice to first El, then Baal. Prepare a large army and march it to Udum the city of king Pabil, then lay siege to Udum until Pabil allows Keret the hand of his daughter Hurriy in marriage, who will provide Keret with children.

The use of *ab adm* in Keret's dream is not, therefore, directly connected with the production of children, but with the concern that El, the father of the king, has for his son. This view supports the ideological interpretation discussed above, particularly when compared with the divine command to the (Primal) man and woman by the deity in the Garden story: *prw wrbw*, 'be fertile and increase'.[78]

El's descent in Keret's dream, and his walk along (?) the ocean('s edge) in KTU 1.23,[79] are the only surviving occasions in Ugaritic literature where El is portrayed outside of his dwelling at the centre of the divine realm. Here is evidence that he is not the remote and distant god some scholars perceive, but a god, who is seen as actively involved in the fortunes of man or, at the very least, the king and the royal household. Thus the significance here is one of royal patronage. After all, El's question uses the verb *arš*, 'to request, wish for', suggesting that Keret has already requested help from El. Or, perhaps El has pre-

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77 KTU 1.17:i:35ff.

78 Gen. 1:28.

79 Or perhaps, upon the sea, cf. Heb. *gp* 'on top of', Prov. 9:3.

empted Keret's request in much the same way that Baal, the patron of Danel, acts before Danel's curses have even been uttered.[80]

(ii) Pabil's embassy to Keret. When king Pabil hears of Keret's campaign against Udum,[81] he sends messengers to ask Keret what he wants, offering anything from his house in order to prevent Udum being attacked. His message ends with the declaration: 'Udum is a gift of El, and a present from the Father of Man'.[82] El is also the 'father' of Pabil and the giving of the city also implies a throne to go with it. The name of Pabil's city (Udum) derives from *adm*, which may hint that El (*ab adm*) is the father of this town, just as Yahweh in Hebrew tradition is called the father and husband even, of 'Daughter Zion', Jerusalem. Keret's response to Pabil mirrors his response to El. He first recounts what he does not want, and then asks for what is not in his house, Pabil's daughter Hurriy, whose beauty is compared with the goddesses Anat and Athtart, a fitting comparison for the future wife of the king of Khabur.[83]

El is clearly described as Keret's father in the phrase *ṯr abh*, noted above, but this does not mean that we should understand that the phrase *ab adm* extends this 'paternity' to mankind in general, but is to be found rather, in our identification of the king as the son of the deity and, therefore, the legitimate possessor of the throne.

ab bn il

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80 KTU 1.19:iii:7-9.

81 Note EA 256:24 (^{URU}*ú-du-mu*), which has been located in either the Beqaa valley (Eissfeldt) or Bashan (Margalit, de Moor and Spronk). see Wyatt (1998: 193, n. 80) for references.

82 KTU 1.14:iii:31-32; v:[42-43]; vi:12-13.

83 The description of divine body-parts as precious substances is found also in Egypt, for example, the description of Re's body in the opening lines of the Destruction of Mankind.

ab bn il, 'Father of the gods ("sons of El")', which, in effect, is the equivalent of *il*,[84] occurs only in the cultic formula preserved on two ritual tablets:[85]

> This is the offering we offer, this is the victim we immolate.
> Let it rise to the father of the gods (*ab bn il*), let it rise to the family of the gods,
> to the assembly of the gods, to Thukamuna and Shanimu.
> Behold the ram!
>
> (KTU 1.40:32-34)

De Moor prefers to see, in the above text, a reference to first El (*ab*), and then the sons of El (*bn il*).[86] This view, however, is difficult, given that each of the three occurrences of *bn il* in our example is preceded by a noun which either modifies, or is modified by *bn il*. Note also the chiastic arrangement of the four phrases, which place El (as father of the gods) parallel with that of Thukamuna and Shanimu, and *dr* ('family') parallel with *mpḫrt* ('assembly', or 'clan'?), which may be further confirmed by the elision of the verb in the second of each pair:

a *ytši l ab bn il*
  b *ytši l dr bn il*
  b´ *l mpḫrt bn il*
a´ *l ṯkmn w šnm*

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84 Pardee (2000: 368).

85 KTU 1.40: [7, 16, 24], 33; KTU 1.122:[2]. del Olmo Lete (1999: 146) observes that KTU 1.54, KTU 1.84 and KTU 1.121, appear to be copies or variations of the same ritual. It is possible also that the formula *il bn il* in KTU 1.65:1, is an abbreviated form of *il ab bn il*.

86 de Moor (1970: 197) and (1980: 174).

It goes without saying that we should also see 'father of the gods' and *dr*, 'family, generation' in parallelism, with *mpḫrt*, 'assembly' balancing with two of its representatives Thukamuna and Shanimu or, perhaps, as their earthly hypostases the king and queen. Personal names frame this passage, with collective terms in the central position, no doubt to show the unity of this collective. But firmly in view is the concept of El as father of the gods.

ab šnm

Various interpretations have been offered for the difficult epithet *ab šnm*, such as 'father of years','father of the height','father of the right ways',[87] 'father of the eminent/exalted ones',[88] 'father of Šanimu (= the Bright One)',[89] and 'father of the Bright Ones'.

The phrase *ab šnm* translated as 'Father of years',[90] is usually understood to refer to El's great age (= 'Ancient One') and his wisdom.[91] El is, it is true, associated in some manner with time, in the phrase *nʿmt šnt il*, 'the gracious years of El',[92] which del Olmo Lete considered to be a possible reference to *ab šnm* ('Father of years').[93]

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87 Ajjan (1983: 20f., 36).

88 Wieder (1974: 108f.), Jobling (1975: 834).

89 Astour (1972: 116), Gordon (1976: 261f.), Cooper (1987: 2), Wyatt (1998: 46, n. 39).

90 Cross (1973: 16), Dahood (1974: 388f.), Ullendorf (1978: 23), Mullen (1980: 22), del Olmo Lete (1999: 190, n. 71).

91 Pope (1955: 32f.).

92 KTU 1.108:27. De Moor (1969: 176), 'the most lovely years of Ilu'.

93 Del Olmo Lete (1999: 190, n. 71).

Cross judged *šnm* 'to be a frozen formula' which utilizes the masc. pl. form, present in Old Canaanite and compared the epithet *mlk ʿlm*, 'eternal king',[94] before concluding that both 'are alternate formulaic epithets of the god ʾĒl'. In Ugaritic, however, there is no evidence that the masc. pl. of *šn* was ever employed; only the fem. pl. form is evident.[95] The Ugaritic epithet *ʿlm*, which Cross attributed to El (and compared with the biblical epithet), is in fact an epithet of the god Rapiu[96] and should be translated as 'king of eternity (i.e., the netherworld)'.[97]

Gese (it has been reported) compared *šnm* with Arab. *sanamah*,[98] 'height, peak, summit' and suggested the translation 'Father of the height'.[99] Unfortunately, nothing more can be said of this suggestion until I procure a copy of his argument. But it should be noted that there are no occurrences of Ug. *šnm* as 'heights, or mountain tops'.

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94 Cross (1973: 16, n. 24). KTU 1.108:1, [20], 21, [22].

95 Despite the comment in *DLU*, 447. See *CPU*, 1911-13, §. 5529. Ginsberg (1936) made the same observation. If the word *šnm* is to be accepted as a DN, the gender of the deity involved is female.

96 Pope (1987: 229). Some identify this epithet with either El or Baal. El: L'Heureux (1979: 12), Avishur (1994); Baal: Dietrich & Loretz (1980).

97 See the discussion of Cooper (1987) who notes that 'eternal' in Ug. is *ʿllmy* (note also KTU 1.22:i:10), while here, 'eternity' (*ʿlm*) stands for the netherworld, the abode of the Rapiuma. See also Niehr (1997: 295-305).

98 Sabaean attests a root *šnm* (= Arab. *snm*) which has the following meanings: I, 'to be prosperous', and II, 'to cause to produce crops (said of a deity)', according to Biella (*DOSA*, 519), who quotes the following passage: *wldt yšnmn lgrybthmw*, 'and so that (the god?) may cause their terraced fields to produce crops'. This is compatible with a chthonian deity.

99 Gese (1983: 140). I have, unforunately, been unable to procure a copy of this study.

The translation 'Father of the right ways' by Ajjan, is intriguing in the light of El's association with wisdom,[100] but the absence of any text which describes or alludes to what these 'right ways' might have been, prevents further comment.[101]

The various translations of *ab šnm* as 'father of the eminent, exalted, bright one(s), Shanimu', are all derived from **šny* (cf. Arab. *snw/y*), 'to shine, be exalted', and refer to the gods collectively ('Bright Ones, Luminaries' [= stars]). Or is it to be identified with the dawn goddess 'Shanimu ... perhaps Athirat-Shapsh as El's daughter'?[102] The first approach is attractive, given the constant references to El's paternity of the gods, but as Wyatt noted, the preferred word at Ugarit for 'luminaries' appears to be *kbkbm*.[103] Given the frequency[104] of the occurrence of the deities *ṯkmn w šnm* in the ritual tablets,[105] it is more likely that *ab šnm* refers to El as the father of the deity Shanimu, who represents, in some (unspecified) manner, as offspring of El, the royal dynasty, perhaps the 'divine' consort of the earthly king.[106]

Pardee suggested that Shanimu is not a goddess but male, the brother of Thukamuna, and pointed to their performing perhaps the most important of the

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100 KTU 1.3:v:30-31 + parallels.

101 Ajjan (1983).

102 See the discussion of Wyatt (1998: 46, n. 39; 410, n. 35). But note the comments of Pardee (1988).

103 Applied (KTU 1.23:54) to the male deities *šḥr w šlm* (the male hypostases of Venus), who are described by their father El as, *kbkbm knm*, 'the stars who have been begotten'. Gods in general are also referred to as 'stars' (KTU 1.10: :4 [*kkbm*]).

104 The most comprehensive study of the cult at Ugarit is that of del Olmo Lete (1999). See also the treatment of Merlo & Xella (1999: 296-300).

105 × 17: *CPU*: 1912, §. 5529. The royal association of *ṯkmn w šnm* is obvious in the ritual tablets KTU 1.40:8, 17, 25, 34, 42; KTU 1.41:12, 15, 31; KTU 1.65:4, del Olmo Lete (1999: 159).

106 See my discussion on the phrase *ab bn il* below.

'Duties of the Pious Son' in the Marziḥu text,[107] namely that of helping the father when he is drunk.[108] But perhaps we should remember that both Anat and Pughat perform an equally important duty, which one would expect from the male heir: the exaction of reparation for the deaths of Baal and Aqhat, respectively.[109]

The phrase *ab šnm* occurs in the Baal cycle seven times.[110] With one exception,[111] this epithet is used always in the formulaic description of the arrival of the gods at the dwelling of El, reflecting, perhaps, a royal title with *šnm* qualifying the visiting deity (here represented in its fullest form):[112]

KTU 1.3:v:6-9

tgl ḏd il	She rolled back the tent of El,
w tbu[qr]*š m*[l]*k*	and entered the [pavil]ion of the K[in]g,
ab[šnm]	Father of [the Bright One].
mṣr[t]bu	The territory [she] entered,
ḏdm qny	the tent of the Creator,
[w]*adn*[bn i]*lm*	[and] Father of [the Sons of E]l.[113]

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107 KTU 1.114:17-19.

108 KTU 1.17:ii:5 + //s. For discussion and extensive bibliography, see Pardee (1988).

109 KTU 1.6:ii:10ff. and KTU 1.19:iv:39ff. respectively.

110 KTU 1.1:iii:24; 1.2:i:10; iii:5; KTU 1.3:v:8; KTU 1.4:iv:24; KTU 1.5:vi:12; KTU 1.6:i:36.

111 KTU 1.2:i:10.

112 KTU 1.1:iii:24 (Kothar); KTU 1.2:iii:5 (Kothar); KTU 1.3:v:8 (Anat); KTU 1.4:iv:24 (Athirat); KTU 1.5:vi:12 (unnamed pair); KTU 1.6:i:36 (Anat). Interestingly, neither Yam's divine messengers, Yam himself, nor Mot ever appear with this formula, although gods who arrive at El's tent to hear news or receive instructions regarding Yam do.

113 For the translation 'father' for *adn*, see KTU 1.24:13.

One text preserves the unique phrase, *ab šnm aṯtm*, 'the Father of the Bright One has two wives',[114] which reminds one of El's two wives in KTU 1.23, identified as, 'Athirat and Rahmay, hypostases of Shapsh'.[115] Textually there are problems with this reading, however, with *CTA* recording a lacuna where *KTU* read the word *ab*, 'father'. Smith cautiously restored *ab* to the damaged part of the tablet, although his photograph of this section of the tablet supports his caution, showing severe damage to the tablet where the word *ab* has been read.[116] Further, this phrase occurs as part of a damaged bicolon, in which it may be either the first or second part with either the second or first part lost, and to make matters worse, the tablet has sustained extensive damage to the surface before and after this phrase making it difficult to ascertain whether the phrase should be read as part of Baal's curse which precedes, or as an introduction to the report of Yam sending messengers to El which follows. (I made a personal inspection of the WSRP's photographs of this section of the tablet.) The uniqueness of the phrase likewise prevents textual reconstruction based on any parallel, although important evidence may be found,[117] where it is made explicitly clear that the two women El seduces on the sea-shore are his wives (see discussion on *mt w šr* below).

ab šnm occurs once in Aqhat[118] and is, like the first examples from the Baal tablets, used in the description of a god(dess) arriving at El's abode. Here it is Anat who goes to El to vilify Aqhat, who has refused to give her his composite bow.

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[114] KTU 1.2:i:10.

[115] Wyatt (1998: 57, n. 95).

[116] Smith (1994: 260 and pl. 39)*KTU*[2] go further, reading a *q* after the second *t*, and restore *ḫ* to the *lacuna*, suggesting the word *tqḫ*, 'you shall take', which appears to be influenced by Gibson (1976:40, n. 2), who thinks this to be a reference to Yam having two wives.

[117] KTU 1.23:42 and 48.

[118] KTU 1.17:vi:49.

Apart from our uncertain reading, the phrase 'Father of the Bright One' occurs firmly within the context of the divine assembly, in particular entering into El's presence, and is connected with the residential complex known as *ḏd*, 'tent',[119] *qrš*, 'pavilion'[120] and once *mṣr*, 'territory'.[121] A similar description is found in *Keret*, which provides another word, *ḫmt*, 'tent-shrine':[122] *ʿrb b ẓl ḫmt*, 'he entered into the darkness of the tent-shrine'.[123]

adn

The word *adn* is attested some 29[124] or 31[125] times in almost all genres of Ugaritic literature excluding the legal tablets. In personal names, *adn* occurs in hypocoristic (most commonly as a patronym)[126] and in compound form,[127]

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119 Akk. *šadādu*, *šadādu*, 'to camp'.

120 Akk. *karāsu*, *karašu*, 'encampment'.

121 Akk. Mari, *ma-aṣ-ṣa-ar-tum*. Ug. √*nṣr*, < 'stronghold' – 'territory'.

122 Wyatt (1998: 198, n. 107) drew attention to the possibility that the word *ḥammātô* in Ps. 19:7, with slight emendation, **ḥĕmātô*, evokes the cultic tent on a cosmic scale, rather like Ezekiel, or the Qumran community: 'His rising-place is at one end of heaven, and his circuit reaches the other; nothing escapes his tent (*mḥmtw*)'.

123 KTU 1.14:iii:55.

124 Administration: KTU 4.19:[1]; KTU 4.90:3; KTU 4.122:18; KTU 4.129:8; KTU 4.360:3; KTU 4.609:33. Correspondence: KTU 2.14:19; KTU 2.18:4; KTU 2.39:5, 6, 9; KTU 2.64:2, 6. Epic: KTU 1.15:vi:5; KTU 1.16:i:44, 57, 60. Fragments: KTU 7.218:2. Inscriptions: KTU 6.16:2. Myth: KTU 1.1:iv:17; KTU 1.2:i:17, 34, 45; KTU 1.6:vi:58; KTU 1.24:33. Ritual: KTU 1.124:1; KTU 1.126:23. Scribal exercises: KTU 5.11.8. Vocabulary: KTU 9.1:ii:9.

125 Including the difficult readings found at KTU 1.3:v:9 and KTU 1.24:13. KTU 1.126:23 is probably not an occurrence of *adn*. *KTU*[2]: *tdn* . *ʿrb*[; Pardee (2002: 39), read the same word as *KTU*[3], but placed it on line 22.

126 *adn*: KTU 4.19:[1]?; KTU 4.609:33; KTU 4.129:8?; *adnn*: KTU 4.54:8; *bn adn*: KTU 4.90:3; KTU 4.122:18; KTU 4.360:3; KTU 6.16:2.

127 *a-du-ni-baʿal* (^{d}U); *adnʿm* (KTU 4.141:i:1; ii:26), *a-da-nu-um-u* (RS 16.262:9f., 13); *adnrʿm* (KTU 4.171:5, cf. KTU 4.141:i:1); *adnṣdq* (KTU 4.7:i:8; KTU 4.129:8); *mradn* (KTU 4.666:5); *adrdn* < **adradn*? (KTU 4.14:9; KTU 4.148:i:3; KTU 4.264:5; KTU 4.141:i:[10];

Twelve times the word is used to describe a human 'lord'.[128] Eight times *adn* is applied to divinity. Yam is called by this title on four occasions.[129] The first occurrence is when El informs the other gods that they must use the title *adn* in reference to Yam. Two are used in the address of Yam's message to the divine council and the final one is placed upon the lips of Baal himself. In all of these occurrences, *adn* should be translated as 'lord'.

De Moor suggested that an occurrence of *adn* in KTU 1.16 should be understood as a reference to a deity,[130] although Greenstein read *ndr*, which appears to make more sense.[131]

adn ilm rbm

In the Medico-mythical text KTU 1.124, we find a character bearing the title *adn*. It is very attractive to see here El,[132] although Yam has also been suggested:[133]

KTU 1.124:1-3

4.183:i:[22]); *nṣdn* < **nṣadn*? (KTU 4.229:8; KTU 4.281:4; KTU 4.356:8), *adnḫwt* (KTU 2.18:4), listed by Gröndahl (1967: 89-90), appears not to be a PN: *]ladn.ḫwt[*. Cf. Ph. *ʾdnbʿl* and *ʾdnšmš* (Benz [1972: 56-9]). Interestingly, the frequency of the DN *ʾl* in Ammonite PNs causes one to wonder whether the Ammonite names *ʾdnnr* (CAI 40:1) and *ʾdnplṭ* (CAI 17:1) describe El by means of the epithet *ʾdn*. In Hebrew, there are the names *ʾdnybzq* (Ju. 1:5-7); *ʾdnyṣdq* (Josh. 10:13) and *ʾdnyh* (2 Sam. 3:4; 1 Ki. 1:5, 7, 18; etc.).

[128] KTU 1.6:vi:58; KTU 1.15:vi:5; KTU 1.16:i:44, 57, 60; KTU 2.14:19; KTU 2.18:4; KTU 2.39:5, 6, 9; KTU 2.64:2, [6].

[129] KTU 1.1:iv:17; KTU 1.2:i:17, 34, 45. The first example is ambiguous and may in fact refer to El.

[130] KTU 1.16:i:44, De Moor (1982: 183).

[131] Greenstein (1997: 46, n. 124).

[132] Wyatt (1998: 423).

[133] De Moor, cited in Wyatt (1998: 423, n. 1).

kymġy adn ilm rbm ʿm dtn	Now the Lord of the Great Gods came to Ditan
w yšal mtpt yld	and sought pronouncement for the child.

However, given that this text appears to be a prescription for the cure for a disease, perhaps the concern of the god thus named for the invalid suggests that *adn* here means 'father', but if so, might we not expect the formula *adn bn ilm* (see below) instead? The gods of which perhaps El is *adn* are described as *rbm*, which recalls the divine council. The mythical scene envisaged in this text may recall events similar to El's seeking out a healer for Keret, or the mother of the horses seeking a cure for snakebite.[134] Unfortunately, no firm identification of the bearer of the title *adn* in this text is possible.

**adn bn ilm*

If the restoration is correct, the sequence **qny w adn bn ilm*, 'Creator and Father of the sons of El (gods)',[135] suggests the meaning 'father' is to be preferred over against the more common 'lord' for *adn*.[136] In this passage, *il*, *mlk* and *qny* are all parallel. The supplementary phrases *ab šnm* and *adn bn ilm* are parallel and refer to his fatherhood over the gods.[137]

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[134] KTU 1.16:v:9ff. and KTU 1.100, respectively. Wyatt (1998: 423, n. 1) noted Schmidt's (1994: 79) concern with the 'problem involved in ... a greater god consulting a lesser'. But this does not appear to be a problem in *Keret*.

[135] KTU 1.3:v:9, text cited above at *ab šnm*.

[136] See *DLU*, 9, where the interpretation '*divino señor*' is preferred.

[137] In KTU 1.24:[13], 33, *adn* means 'father'.

il il iḏn

Occurring in a Hurrian hymn extolling El,[138] this has been identified as the Hurrian equivalent of WS 'El, Creator of the earth',[139] and thus offers support for the interpretation that the meaning of **qny* in the Semitic phrase *ʾl qn ʾrṣ* is indeed 'creator' and not 'possessor'. It is found parallel with Hurr. *il ḫl ḫurn*, translated as 'El, Maker/Overseer of the heaven', and closely followed by the statement 'you are exalted among the gods, O El' (*ḫldp in ḏr il*).

il brt

In the Hurro-Ugaritic tablet KTU 1.128,[140] we find the intriguing sequence *ilbrt il dn*.[141] Cross, who understood this to represent 'two ... epithets of ʾĒl', translated these lines as 'God of the covenant' (*il brt*) and 'El the Judge' (*il dn*), and noted a possible connection with Ju. 9:46.[142] There is, unfortunately, no attested use of the root *bry* (Heb. *brh* ‹ *bryh*) in Ugaritic, much less the noun *brt*, 'covenant'.[143] The Akkadian correspondence tablets between Ugarit and Hatti mention a 'treaty' between Niqmad 2 of Ugarit and Suppiluliuma 1 of Hatti, but the word used is *rikiltu* (*riksum*).

Dijkstra rejected any relationship with the so-called biblical El Berit and preferred instead a reference to the deity Ilabrat (*ilbrt*)[144] in the syntagma *ilbrt* and

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138 KTU 1.128:1-2. For a translation and discussion of this obscure text, see Dijkstra (1993).

139 Dijkstra (1993: 159).

140 For a discussion of this text, see Dijkstra (1993).

141 KTU 1.128:14-16.

142 Cross (1973: 39).

143 Contra Lewis, *DDD*, 141.

144 Equivalent to Sum. Ninšubur, the SUKKAL (vizier) of Anu. In Akkadian tradition Ilabrat is a male deity, while Ninšubur is female in Sumerian.

saw *il dn* as a reference to El's unique power (including the following word of the text *škl*, an adjectival derivative from the Hurrian numeral *šukki*, 'one'):[145]

KTU 1.128:13-16

an il	This El,
an kḏġ an kmrb	this, Kušuḫu this Kumarbi
an ill ilbrt	this Ellil (and) Ilabrat,
il dn škl	he is alone the powerful El![146]

il ḫl ḫurn

Dijkstra's translation of this Hurrian epithet, 'El, Maker/Overseer of the heaven', is based upon his suggestion that Hurr. *ḫl* is related 'to *ḫul-* and also the root-complement *=uḫli/ḫuli* found in a number of names for professions'.[147] Perhaps this epithet is the Hurrian equivalent of Ug. *ḥrš*, which is found in similar contexts (see my discussion below).

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145 Dijkstra (1993: 161).

146 Text and translation, Dijkstra (1993: 158f.).

147 Dijkstra (1993: 159), who notes, amongst others the term *halz/suḫlu*, 'governor, commander of a fortress' (*Ahw*, 314). Intriguingly he refers to, 'the context of the mythological fragment KUB xlv 63:i:7 describing primordial events may suggest a creative action of the gods. If so, an epithet "maker/overseer of the heaven" is within the realm of possibilities'.

il w atrt

Once only do we find the combination *il w atrt*.[148] It is unlikely that this represents a fusing of El and Athirat into a single hypostasis, but rather of both deities as the divine parents. Perhaps this formula is an abbreviation for the collection of titles that describe El and Athirat as parents of the gods, made obvious by the thrice repeated description of the gods as *bn il*.[149]

il kmrb

At Ugarit the identification of El with Kumarbi is found in the Hurrian tablets, KTU 1.42 and KTU 1.128, written in alphabetic cuneiform.[150] Rather than being a divine name, Kumarbi has been shown to be 'an appellative formed with the Hurrian suffix of belonging *-bi/-we*', used as an epithet to describe the affiliation of the god in question with a location: 'He of Kumar/Kumur'.[151] Astour identified the origin of this TN as Semitic,[152] derived from √*kmr*[153] and suggested that it 'owed its name to some kind of a shrine and was a cultic centre'.[154] He also noted

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148 KTU 1.65:5.

149 KTU 1.65:1-4.

150 Although Laroche (1968: 523ff.) showed compelling evidence for the identification of Kumarbi with Dagan, Dijsktra (1993: 158) correctly noted that the identification of Kumarbi with El is, 'because in the Hurrian-Hittite tradition Kumarbi shared many aspects with El'. Astour (1968: 174) described Dagan as El's hypostasis. See also Cors y Meya (1999-2000: 346, and n. 19), where he cites further evidence by del Olmo Lete.

151 First suggested by Forrer (1936), cited in Astour (1968: 172 n. 8).

152 He points to the TN in the North Syrian list of Thutmose iii (No. 261): '*Ka-m-ru* (with the determinative "house") and in the topographic list of Amenhotep iii at Kom el Hetan as *Ku-mu-ri-ma*', Astour (1968: 172).

153 Akk. *Kamāru*, 'to heap up, pile up, throw down'.

154 Astour (1968: 173).

that the place of action of the Kumarbi myth points to an origin in Northern Syria.[155]

In Hurro-Hittite tradition,[156] Kumarbi is known by the following epithets: 'Father of (all) the gods',[157] 'Offspring of Alalu', 'the Mighty Kumarbi' and 'Cunning king', almost all of which find equivalents at Ugarit with the following descriptions of El:[158] **rb il*,[159] *lṯpn il d pid, mlk*. Greek Kronos, whom Philo of Byblos identifies as El, is similarly described as: μέγας Κρόνος, Οὐρανιδῆς, ἀγκυλομήτης and βασιλῆος (see my discussion on Kronos below).

Twice, in KTU 1.42, we find the combination *il kmrb*, 'El-Kumarbi'.[160] It is unclear whether this was understood as 'El of Kumar',[161] but if so, it would be a valuable example of an El epithet associating him with a location. The text, however, clearly identifies El as Kumarbi. That the word *il* is the divine name El rather than the appellative 'god' is made obvious by the use of the word *an* (= *en*) for 'god'[162] and in the equation [^{d}*en-líl*] = *ku*-mar-we* = *ilum* (DINGIR)^{lum}.[163]

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155 Astour (1968: 177) and (1965; 218, n. ccxl) where he notes that the name of Kumarbi's vizier, Mukishanu is a gentilic of Mukish, a state bordering Ugarit.

156 See KUB xxxiii 120 + 119 (= xxxvi 31):15-20, 19 and 35.

157 Gütterbock (1951: 147).

158 Ugaritic mythology is silent with respect to any parents El may have had.

159 This title is discernible in the words of Athirat in KTU 1.4:v:3, *rbt ilm*, 'You are great, O El', and in the anthroponym *rbil* (*PRU* ii, No. 32.3).

160 KTU 1.42:6-8.

161 Astour (1968: 172); Dijkstra (1993: 159) and (1995: 56f.).

162 KTU 1.42:1.

163 Ug. v, No. 137:iii:35f. (= RS 20.123 + 180A + 180 α + 185 A, B + 190 A + 197 E + 426 C, E + 21.07 B).

il mlk d yknnh

In the Baal cycle and associated tablets, the phrase *il mlk d yknnh*, 'El, the king who begot him', occurs only in the four passages which inform us that Baal has no home like the sons and daughters of El.[164] It appears parallel with *ṯr il abh*, and is always in the third person, with Baal the exclusive antecedent.[165] It would appear that the phrase *d yknnh* has been added to the traditional *il mlk*, to emphasize Baal's legitimacy as heir of El and rightful king amongst the gods and worthy of a palace.

The use of the verb **kn*, 'beget, create, establish',[166] is interesting, particularly since it describes El's relationship with Baal, who bears the contradictory epithet *bn/ḫtk dgn*, 'Son/Scion of Dagan'.[167] Perhaps this circumstance suggests that we understand **kwn* to mean 'establish' and not 'beget'. Baal is indeed called son of El in Aqhat, but in Keret and the Baal Cycle he is known as *bn dgn*, 'son of Dagan'.[168]

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164 KTU 1.3:v:35-36; KTU 1.4:i:[5-6]; iv:47-48; KTU 1.117:2-[3].

165 This plea immediately follows the declaration: *mlkn aliyn bʿl ṯpṯn*, 'Our king is Valiant, Baal is our ruler'. In the first passage (KTU 1.13:v:35ff.) the speaker is Anat who petitions El on Baal's behalf. The second describes the conveyance of this news to Kothar-wa-Hasis by Qadesh-wa-Amur (KTU 1.4:i:5ff.), coupled with instructions for Kothar-wa-Hasis to make a gift for Athirat. And finally, in the third passage (KTU 1.4:iv:41-57) it is Athirat who pleads Baal's case with El, who grants her wish.

166 *DLU*, 219.

167 For references, see *CPU*, 590, §. 1500. For an alternative interpretation of *bn dgn*, 'the Rainy One', see Wyatt (1998: 59, n. 106) and references.

168 It must be admitted that beyond the account of Sanchuniathon (*PE* 1.10.18-9), we have no other means of reconciling the references to Baal as the son of Dagan (e.g. KTU 1.2:i:19) with the claim that El is Baal's father (c.f. KTU 1.3:v:35). Perhaps we have two religious traditions (Amorite and Canaanite?) which have been preserved side by side. Wyatt's proposal that *bn dgn* is attributive; 'the Rainy One' (1980), must be countered with the use of *ḫtk dgn* which clearly cannot be interpreted in this manner. Cf. Wyatt (1980), where *ḫtk dgn* = 'Lord of the rain' (*ḫtk* = 'rule').

The personal name *yknil*, 'El has created (him/me)', occurs twice, in tablets recovered from the palace,[169] although this in no way suggests the name bearer(s) are royal.[170] The hypocoristic form *ykn* may be have included the DN *il*, but there is also the possibility that *ʿm*, the only other theophoric element used with names compounded with **kwn* in the Ugaritic onomasticon, was here intended.[171]

il ġzr

In the Baal cycle of tablets the epithet *ġzr*, 'hero, warrior', is preserved seven times on four tablets, in the two-fold construct formula *bn ilm mt ... ydd il ġzr*.[172] Many scholars identified Mot as the *ġzr*,[173] understanding the epithet as a reference to him, but beyond this formula, Mot is nowhere else called *ġzr*. Others preferred to retain ambiguity over who may be the owner of the epithet.[174]

Vaughn argued that an epithet is never used as a substitute for a personal name following a construct-chain epithet, and identified El as the owner of this epithet.[175] In defence of his identification of El as *ġzr*, he cited two occurrences in

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169 KTU 4.86:15 and KTU 4.165:12.

170 The name also occurs in syllabic form as *ia-ku-un*-DINGIR, *PRU* 4, 182 (RS 17.319):20; *PRU* 6, 38:20; 45:4.

171 Cf. *DLU*, 219.

172 KTU 1.4:vii:47; viii:32; KTU 1.5:i:8, 14; ii:9; KTU 1.6:vi:31 and KTU 1.133:17.

173 For example, Gordon (1956): '²Il's beloved, the hero'. Bernhardt (1978: 214): 'Mut, the son of El ... El's favourite, the prince.' Caquot (1978: 132): 'Divine Mot ... the hero beloved of El.' Margalit (1980: 67): 'Divine-one Mot ... El's beloved, (the) Hero'. Albright (1941: 41, n. 16) interpreted *ġzr* as a reference to Mot, having a euphemistic meaning '"the Generous (one)", like Arab. *ġazir*', but this does not seem to make sense.

174 E.g. Wyatt (1998: 111): 'Divine Mot ... the Beloved of El, the hero'. Wyatt's translation (1998: 426) of KTU 1.133:15-8, however, appears to favour Mot as *ġzr*: 'the son of El, Mot, ... and the beloved of El, the hero, against the stone was strong?'.

175 See the discussion by Vaughn (1993: 425-8). The only variant of this formula, KTU 1.5:i:14 *bn ilm mt ... ydd bn il ġzr*, is commonly assumed to be a scribal error, with the second *bn* apparently caused by the scribe's repetition of the phrase *bn il* which occurs in the first part

Aqhat, 'which exhibit the exact syntactical pattern as the phrase *ydd il ġzr*: a construct chain ending in a personal name plus a single-word epithet, and[176] noted that this epithet 'may precede or follow the personal name' to which it is attached, 'and it always refers to the personal name'.[177] He further supported his position with the observation that ġzr is substituted for a personal name only when it precedes any construct chain epithet, the opposite arrangement to our formula.[178]

As an epithet, *ġzr* is frequently applied (some 32 times), to characters in the epic cycles of *Keret* and *Aqhat*. Keret's son Ilḫu,[179] Danel,[180] and Aqhat[181] are all called *ġzr* 'hero, warrior'.[182] The PN Ilḫu, is also seen by Vaughn, as another example of the DN *il* followed by the epithet *ġzr*, which, he writes, is 'further indication that *ġzr* is an epithet of El'.[183] While I agree with his conclusion that El owns the epithet *ġzr*, I think it may be stretching the point too much to assume that because Ilhu's name contains the element *il* he is called 'hero/warrior', Aqhat's name contains no such element, yet he is called hero.

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of the formula.

176 KTU 1.19:i:66-67, 73 *yd aqht ġzr*. He does admit (1993: 429) that *yd aqht* is not a construct chain 'epithet like *ydd il*, (but) it does show explicitly that it is syntacticaly possible for *ġzr* to follow a construct chain ending in a personal name and to refer only to that personal name.'

177 Vaughn (1993: 429).

178 E.g. KTU 1.17:i:1-[2], 17-8. Vaughn (1993: 428).

179 KTU 1.16:i:46, 58; ii:21, 33.

180 KTU 1.17:i:1, 17, 35, 37; ii:28; v:5, 14, 34; KTU 1.19:i:20, 37, 48 and KTU 1.20:ii:8.

181 KTU 1.17:vi:17, 20, 26, 33, 34, 42, 51; KTU 1.18:i:21, 24; iv:14; KTU 1.19:ii:18, 24, 42; iii:47, 53; iv:4, 12, 16, 19, 58.

182 The formula *mhr // ṣbu // ġzr* (KTU 1.3:ii:21-2), confirms our interpretation of *ġzr* as 'hero/warrior'. KTU 1.7:5-6 contains the formula *ṣbu // ġzr*, albeit in a reconstructed form, after KTU 1.3; of which KTU 1.7 undoubtedly features quotations, and may well have originally featured the threefold parallelism noted beforehand. *ṣbʾ* 'army' appears eight times at: KTU 1.3:ii:22; KTU 1.7:5; KTU 1.14:ii:33, 33, 35; iv:13, 14, 15. Notice should also be made of the term *ṣbu anyt* 'ship's crew', which occurs at KTU 4.40:1, 7, 10.

183 Vaughn (1993: 429).

At Ugarit, *ġzr* is preserved on 16 Ugaritic tablets, some 60 times.[184] Eleven occurrences describe a social class,[185] and three describe singers.[186] Two citations are more difficult to interpret: one occurs in a bilingual text written in Akkadian (ll. 1-7), and Ugaritic (ll. 8-18),[187] and the other appears on a liver omen.[188] In all remaining occurrences, *ġzr* features as an epithet ascribed to Ilḫu, Danel and Aqhat in the epic tablets (KTU 1.14-1.19) respectively, and of El in the tablets recounting the conflict of Baal and Mot (KTU 1.4-1.6, and KTU 1.133). The association of *ġzr* with El, finds support in the personal names containing the elements DN *ʾl* with √*ʿzr*, as found in Canaanite[189] and Hebrew[190] names. It is unclear which root, *ʿzr* I, or *ʿzr* II, is employed in these names, but perhaps the context in which we encounter them indicates the best interpretation.[191] The

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184 *CPU*, 1639-41, §§. 4626-7, counts 55 uses of *ġzr*, and seven of *ġzrm*, yielding a total of 72. However, two counts of *ġzr* (KTU 1.162:14 and KTU 1.170:1), noted by *CPU* do not exist, according to *KTU*[2], 151 and 157. Whitaker (*CUL*, 512f.) counts 58 in total.

185 KTU 1.3:ii:22; KTU 1.7:6; KTU 1.19:iv:44; KTU 1.22:i:7; KTU 4.102:3, 16, 18, 19, 20, 23 and KTU 4.349:1. In the last two cited tablets, *ġzr(m)* apparently describes a social class who, according to van Selms (1954: 96) 'a *ġzr* is a free, masculine person who has reached manhood and is entitled to military service.' In KTU 4.102:18-20 *ġzr* appears alongside a class of females termed *pġt* 'young woman'. Danel's daughter, named *pġt*, disguises herself in the garb of a *ġzr* (KTU 1.19) before setting out to kill Yatipan the murderer of Aqhat. Note also the related noun *pʿyhʾ* 'noisy, quarrelsome woman', Jastrow (1971: 1202). Cf. KTU 1.169:1 and Wyatt (1998: 443, n. 3).

186 KTU 1.3:i:20 and KTU 1.23:14, 17.

187 KTU 1.73:11.

188 KTU 1.141:1. Pardee (*CS i*, 291), describing the tablet as 'a consultation on the buying of a servant', translates *ġzr* here as 'boy'. The word *ġzr* is never used in any other Ugaritic text, or for that matter Semitic language, to mean 'servant'. Indeed, the use of *ġzr* in the administrative tablets KTU 4.102 and KTU 4.349 suggests the opposite.

189 Avigad (1968: 52-3 and 1970: 288 and Pl. 30:4), an Ammonite PN found on an 8th/7th cent. BCE seal, *ʾlʿzr*, 'El has helped'. A common biblical name, this name occurs in reverse composition, *ʿzrʾl*, in another Ammonite seal (Avigad [1970: 288 and 294, n. 37]).

190 *ʾlyʿzr*: Gen. 15:2; Ex. 18:4; 1 Chr. 7:8, etc.; *ʾʿzr*: Ex. 6:23, 25; 28:1; Lev. 10:6, 12, 16; Nu. 3:2 (+ ×34); Deut. 10:6, etc.; *ʿzryʾl*,: Jer. 36:26; 1 Chr. 5:24; 27:19; *ʿzrʾl*: Ezra 10:41; Neh. 11:13; 12:36; 1 Chr. 12:7; 25:18; 27:22.

191 *ʿzr* is one of the most popular predicates in Israelite PNs: Tigay (1986: 6, n. 6).

context, and use of Hebrew PNs using the elements *ʾl* and *ʿzr* show clear affinities with the range of meanings associated with Ug. *ġzr*: 'warrior'[192] and 'chorister'[193] although it is unlikely any formulation had the meaning 'chorister/musician of El'.[194]

il pbnḫwn ḫmn

De Moor translated this phrase as 'El of the mountain Ḫamanu', which invites the possibility that here is a reference to El's Phoenician title *bʿl ḥmn*,[195] although the meaning of the Hurrian epithet, as well as the Phoenicio-Punic one is not at all clear. Cross compared this title with *šdy* and saw a Hurrian version of the biblical epithet.[196] Further, it is not entirely clear whether *ḫmn* is to be connected with *pbnḫwn*. Dijkstra preferred to see *ḫmn* as a reference to 'the mountain of El, who is addressed in a personified way', with *il pbnḫwn* referring to El, and to be translated as 'El of Pabanḫi',[197] which he notes is the name of a 'mountainous area north of Assyria'. He further noted that 'in the Canaanite myth of Elkunirša, Ashertu and the Weather-god El lives at the headwaters of the Euphrates River'.[198]

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[192] KTU 1.3:ii:22; KTU 1.7:6; KTU 1.19:iv:44 and KTU 1.22:i:7.

[193] This may be properly 'youth'.

[194] KTU 1.3:i:20; KTU 1.23:14, 17.

[195] De Moor (*TWAT* i, col. 265).

[196] Cross (1973: 56).

[197] Dijkstra (1993) varies between Babanḫi and Pabanḫi.

[198] Dijkstra (1993: 160).

il šr

Attested once only,[199] this title is open to two interpretations, both of which are acceptable descriptions of El: 'El the king',[200] or 'El the husband'.[201] Given that *šr*, 'husband' only ever occurs in the passage recounting the *hieros gamos* of El and Athirat-Shapsh[202] and that this tablet offers no indication that it is a list of gods present at such a ceremony, the meaning 'King El', or 'El the King' is probably to be preferred, with this title understood as the Hurro-Akkadian equivalent of Ugaritic *il mlk*. This view may find support on line 20 of this tablet where we find (in a broken context) the phrase *qdš mlk i*[...], although the following line, if it is parallel, suggests that we should restore *il* to line 20 and translate 'Holy king El'.[203]

In KTU 1.12, it has been suggested that El is called *šr* in the phrase *šr aḫyh // šr ylyh*, 'chief(?) of his (Baal) siblings // chief(?) of his kin',[204] although some commentators have interpreted the word *šr* differently, seeing instead a reference to Baal's kin rather than to El.[205] Either interpretation is possible and no certain conclusion may be made regarding this text.

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199 KTU 1.123:3.

200 Cf. Akk. *šarru*, CAD Š/2, 76ff.

201 For the interpretation of the word *šr* in KTU 1.23 as 'husband', see my discussion on *mt w šr* below.

202 KTU 1.23:8-11. See my discussion of *mt w šr* below.

203 KTU 1.12:ii:50-51. This would be an instance of El bearing the epithet *qdš*. See discussion below.

204 E.g. Parker (1997: 191).

205 Gray (1971: 66, n. 40): 'one who watches' (> Heb. *šwr*); Van Selms (1954: 98): 'band', comparing Isa. 3:19.

il ṯr

Found in only two texts,[206] this combination is capable of two interpretations: 'El the Bull', or 'El the king'. In KTU 1.101,[207] the phrase occurs in a broken context and is very difficult to interpret, while *il ṯr* has been interpreted as a variant (Hurrian?) form of *il šr*, El the king', or 'King El'.[208] The first possibility, 'El the Bull', is problematic because we would normally expect the word order *ṯr il*. Perhaps the meaning 'king' for *ṯr* (*šr*) is employed to distinguish the epithet from *šr*, 'husband' (see my discussion of *il šr* and *mt w šr*).

atdb w ⊕r

It is extremely doubtful whether this composite name may be attributed to El. De Moor[209] proposed that the theonym *atdb* should be understood as a designation of the goddess Ashtabi, while Pardee thought that the element ⊕*r* (=*ṯr*) perhaps signified the Hurrian deity Tharri, but due to the epigraphical problems of the reading ⊕*r*, coupled with the lack of a positive identification of the first element of this combination declined any conclusion.[210] Perhaps this binomial describes El, but unfortunately there is no textual evidence to reach any conclusion.

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206 KTU 1.101:8 and KTU 1.128:7.

207 For a discussion of this tablet along with bibliography, see Pardee (1988: 119-52).

208 KTU 1.128:7. Dijkstra (1993: 158).

209 De Moor (1970: 199, 313).

210 Pardee (2000: 700).

bny bnwt

This epithet is quite rare, occurring only five times; twice each in KTU 1.4 and KTU 1.6, and once only in KTU 1.17.[211] The common translation, 'Creator of creatures',[212] understands a genitive construction of a participle followed by a noun, both derived from the same root *bnw/y*, 'to build, make, create'.[213] This epithet, it has been argued, provides evidence for El's activity as a creator god and is often compared with Ug. *ab adm* (understood in this view as 'Father of mankind') and the West Semitic title *ʾl qn ʾrṣ*, 'El, Creator of the earth'. Abel understood *bnwt* to refer to the whole of creation and translated the phrase as 'Creator of creation'.[214]

As we have seen with Ug. *ab adm*, however, an alternative meaning is possible, which suggests that most commentators have quite possibly reached a hasty conclusion about the meaning of *bny bnwt*. If our interpretation of *ab adm* is indeed correct, then this title is the only remaining reference among the alphabetic cuneiform texts which possibly identifies Ugaritic El as creator of the universe.

The word *bnwt* may be interpreted differently, as a plural form of *bn*, 'son', yielding the possible title 'the Maker of sons, or offspring'.[215] The possibility of this interpretation is supported by the occurrence of the word *bnwt* in KTU 1.100,

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[211] KTU 1.4:ii:11; iii:32; KTU 1.6:iii:5, 11; KTU 1.17:i:23-24

[212] E.g. Oldenburg (1969: 16), Cassuto (1971: 54), Korpel (1990: 385).

[213] As Pope (1955: 50) observed, 'a woodenly literal rendering "Builder of Built Ones" or "Begetter of Begotten Ones" would be rather awkward'.

[214] Abel (1973: 54).

[215] Pardee (1997: 256, n. 122), appears to approve this interpretation in his footnote, but in his translation of the passages which feature *bny bnwt* he translates the title as 'Creator of Creatures'. Note also Wyatt (1998: 384), who translated *bnwt* in KTU 1.100:61 as 'offspring'.

where the meaning 'offspring' appears to be the most plausible translation of this word.

The title *bny bnwt* occurs four times in the Baal cycle. It occurs twice, parallel with the uncommon phrase *ṯr il d pid*,[216] while the two remaining occasions have it parallel with the more familiar *ltpn il d pid*.[217] The first passage describes Athirat as she disrobes on the sea-shore and then sets a cooking pot upon a fire, apparently in an attempt to attract El sexually.[218] The similarity between this passage and the seduction scene in KTU 1.23[219] is obvious, so it is perhaps appropriate that El is called *bny bnwt*, 'Maker of offspring'. Interrupting Athirat's ardour, Anat and Baal arrive with gifts for Athirat,[220] only to be asked why they bring gifts to her, when they should instead take gifts to El, whom she calls *ṯr il d pid // bny bnwt*.[221] The purpose of their visit is, however, to ask Athirat to petition El that Baal be allowed a palace. The use of these terms here may be literary (as a balance to the prior use of the title), but more than likely refer to El's role as father of Baal and Anat.

In KTU 1.6, the more familiar *ltpn il d pid*, 'Percipient El who is clever' appears parallel with *bny bnwt*.[222] The context is a dream which El hopes will confirm that Baal is alive.[223] The use of the title here may indicate El's role as Baal's father who, mourns at his death and celebrates at the news that he lives. In *Aqhat*, Baal intercedes with El on behalf of a childless Danel, with the parallel

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216 KTU 1.4:ii:10-11 and iii:31-32.
217 KTU 1.6:iii:4-5, 10-11.
218 KTU 1.4:ii:1-11.
219 Wyatt (1998: 93, n. 101).
220 KTU 1.4:ii:12ff.
221 KTU 1.4:iii:29-32.
222 KTU 1.6:iii:5, 11.
223 KTU 1.6:iii:6-7, 12-13

epithets *tr il aby* and *bny bnwt*, 'Bull El, my father' // 'maker of sons'.[224]

bʿl gml

Occurring once only, as an epithet of *hll* (identified with El below), in the hymn to the Kotharat,[225] this perhaps describes El's role as the god who blesses humans with successful childbirth: *bʿl gml*, 'Lord of Completion'.[226] The word *gml* in West Semitic seems to have the idea of 'completeness', 'come to fruition, ripeness',[227] a perfectly suitable concept to be attributed to a god concerned with childbirth such as El. It is notable that the epithet *bʿl gml* only occurs on a tablet which contains two texts that been identified as being concerned with childbirth, makes it difficult to doubt it as an epithet of El, the god *par excellence* of childbirth:

KTU 1.24:40-42

ašr ilh[t] ktr[t]	Let me sing of the goddess[es] Kothar[at],
[bn]*t hll snnt*	[daugh]ters of Ellil, the Bright Ones,
bnt hll bʿl gml	daughters of Ellil, Lord of Gamlu.

dr

'Eternal'. It is possible that this, if indeed it is a title, is the Ugaritic equivalent of

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[224] KTU 1.17:i:23-24.

[225] KTU 1.24:42.

[226] For a different view, see *TEO i*, 396, n. b, where it is suggested is a reference to the constellation Auriga

[227] Nu. 17:23; 1 Ki. 11:20; Isa. 1:23f.; 18:5. See also the Hebrew PN *gmlyʾl* (Nu. 1:10; 2:20; 7:54, 59; 10:23).

Hebrew *ʿwlm*,[228] although I argue below in chapter four that Heb. *ʿwlm* is not an epithet of El.

hll

Gallagher noted that at Ugarit a god list equates Ellil with El 'in an Akkadian incantation and in some god lists',[229] and pointed to the sequence *kmrb an hll*. This epithet occurs in two texts, both of which are concerned with childbirth,[230] and always as an epithet of the Kotharat, the goddesses of childbirth.

ḫnn il

Occurring once only,[231] this is not (in my opinion) an epithet of El, but rather a plea for El to be 'gracious', or even better a description of Athirat as 'Gracious One of El'.[232]

ḫnbn il dn[

The sequence *ḫnbn il dn*[[233] remains unexplained and may be interpreted as a description of El that includes one or more epithets: *ḫnbn* and *dn*[.[234]

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228 *PRU* iii, 218.

229 E.g. Ug. v p. 397, ii 25′-8′; Ug. v p. 246, iii 33′ff., Gallagher (1994: 135ff. and nn. 29-31).

230 KTU 17:ii:27, 31 [33], 36, 38, 40; KTU 1.24:6, 15, 41, 41-2.

231 KTU 1.65:6.

232 *DLU*, 178 observed that the etymology is uncertain.

233 KTU 1.123:15.

234 See *DLU*, 178.

Astour suggested that *ḥnbn* means 'compassionate' (cf. Ar. *ḥaniba*),[235] while *dn*[, could easily be understood to mean Hurr. *dn*, 'powerful',[236] or Ug. *dn*, 'judge'. If Astour's suggestion is correct, it offers evidence that El was recognized as a god who is 'Compassionate', such as the roots *rḥm* and *ḥnn* suggest. But the possibility that we have a Hurro-Ugaritic phrase meaning 'Compassionate El the Powerful' is attractive, although the position of this phrase in a god-list, suggests that we have here a description that does not refer to El.[237] There is the possibility that *il* is adjectival, meaning 'divine', or that the sequence of signs should be read *ḥn bn il dn*[, 'the benevolence of the (powerful?) sons of El (i.e. gods) ...', which makes perfect sense in a ritual text as a collective term for the recipients of an offering or cultic act.

ḥrš

Although various interpretations of the word *ḥrš* have been offered,[238] the most common meaning of *ḥrš* is 'craftsman, maker', evident from the occupations prefixed by *ḥrš* in the economic tablets from Ugarit[239] and the use of this word to describe Kothar-wa-Hassis in the formula *kṯr w ḥss // ḥyn d ḥrš yd(m)*, 'Kothar-wa-Hassis // Hayin, who is the two-handed craftsman'.[240]

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235 Astour (1966: 283). Cf. Xella (1981: 221); del Olmo Lete (1999: 230, n. 34).

236 KTU 1.128:13-16. Dijkstra (1993: 158f.).

237 See de Moor (1970).

238 For a discussion of the various solutions, see Dietrich & Loretz (1999). Parker (1997: 191) translated *ḥrš* as 'diviner'.

239 For example, *ḥrš(m)* 'craftsmen, fabricators'; *ḥrš anyt*, 'ship builders'; *ḥrš arkd*, 'spear makers'; *ḥrš bhtm*, *ḥrš btm*, 'builders of houses'; *ḥrš mrkbt*, 'chariot makers'; *ḥrš ʿrq*, 'wagon builders'; *ḥrš qṯn*, 'sword makers'; *ḥrš qšt*, 'constructors of bows'.

240 KTU 1.1:iii:5; KTU 1.3:vi:23; KTU 1.17:v:19, 24. An alternative translation for the second part of this description might be 'Hayin, who constructs/fashions with his/both hands'. Note also the similar description of Hephaistos as ἀμφιγυήεις (*Od.* VIII:300), commonly

KTU 1.12 ends with a ritual prescription to be performed by the king in a location identified by the parallel pair *bt il* // *bt ḥrš*.[241] Understanding the first phrase, *bt il*, to be a reference to El's temple allows the possibility that the word *ḥrš* is an epithet of El. As an epithet, *ḥrš* is never applied to Kothar-wa-Hassis.[242] It is only ever used as a description of the skill he has with his hands which create, fashion, or fabricate. Further confirmation may be found in the absence of the word in connection with his craftsmanlike activities,[243] while it is used to described human artisans (as noted above). Perhaps the *bt ḥrš* in this text was a shrine used by the craftsmen who had workshops within the area of either the temple (or acropolis) or the royal palace.[244]

In *Keret*, the verb *ḥrš* is self-predicated by El in his response to the silence of the gods over which of them will cure Keret:[245]

KTU 1.16:v:25-28

ank iḥtrš w aškn	It is I who will bring about and create,
aškn ydt [m]*rṣ*	I will create a remover of sickness,

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understood as a reference to his lameness (γυιός, γυιόω), but long recognised as probably describing his skill with both hands (γυῖα).

241 KTU 1.12:ii:58-61. Wyatt (1998: 168, n. 39) envisaged 'a water ritual performed by the king', perhaps symbolically from the source of the two waters/rivers where El resides.

242 KTU 1.92:7 may be understood in this way: k[t]r *ḥrš ḥss m*[, 'Kothar the Craftsman, Hassis the M...', but the fragmentary nature of the text suggests extreme caution in any judgement.

243 The verb *bny*, 'to build' is used in KTU 1.1:iii:7, although it is possible *ḥrš* may have appeared in the preceding *lacuna*. The description of Kothar making gifts for Athirat (KTU 1.4:i:23ff.) similarly lacks the verb *ḥrš* while the account of his making of the composite bow in Aqhat is lost, presumably, in the *lacuna* between KTU 1.17:ii:47 and the resumption of the narrative in col. v. However, KTU 1.92:7 may use the verb *ḥrš* in such a manner, although the text is too fragmentary to be certain.

244 Cf. Wyatt (1998: 168, n. 38).

245 KTU 1.16:v:26.

gršt zbln	a dispeller of disease.

However, it should be noted that in using this verb, El also eliminates himself from the list of gods who will offer a cure for Keret's illness. It is the deity fashioned by El; the object of the verb *ḥrš* who restores Keret to life, which is perhaps indicative of El's removal, but not complete investment, of concern over the fate of the hapless king of Khabur.

Given the context of the narrative that begins KTU 1.12, it is possible that a better solution would be to see here a derived substantive from Akk. *ḫarāšu*,[246] 'bring to birth, deliver'. The use of the verb *ḥrš* is certainly interesing, given that the double occurrence of **kwn* surely directs us towards the correct interpretation of this multiple homonym. While the first occurrence of **kwn* is parallel with *ḥrš*, it should not be read, but rather understood as a modifier for *ḥrš*. The second use of **kwn* is the actual parallel to *ḥrš* and should be read accordingly:

ank iḥtrš w aškn	It is I alone who will engender and create.
aškn ydt [m]*rṣ*	I will create a remover of sickness

The parallelism of *ḥrš* with **kwn* argues against the meaning 'conjure up' for *ḥrš*. **kwn* is always used in connection with El's role as father. Therefore a meaning more consonant with such a sentiment is required for *ḥrš*. This may be found in the Akkadian cognate, *ḫarištu*, used to describe a woman in childbirth; exactly

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[246] *CDA*, 107, *ḫarāšu* 1, D stem. See also CAD (*ḫ*) 96, **ḫarāšu* (3) connected with childbirth; CAD (*ḫ*) 103, *ḫarištu* A, 'Laḫmu his father begat him. *Laḫāmu ummašu ḫar-šá-as-su* Laḫāmu his mother was the one who gave birth to him' (Enuma Eliš 1:84); *CDA*, 107. See also BDB, 361, *ḥrš* IV, Arab. *khurs(at)*, as 'a medicinal drug given to women in childbed'. Driver (1956: 73 and n. 8) translates *bt ḥrš* as 'house of confinement', perceiving a reference to Ishtar.

the situation the two handmaids are in in the opening section of KTU 1.12. Further, if this passage describes El as a conjurer, it is unique. Nowhere else is he described as a god who resorts to incantation to create. Indeed, here there is no recounting of any incantation uttered by El, unless his blessings are to be interpreted in this light. In sum, he forms (or, better, 'crafts') the expeller of disease from mud, he does not utter an incantation, but uses his hands. There is, therefore, a distinct possibility that *ḥrš* in KTU 1.12 describes El, not Kothar-wa-Hassis. El is the cause of the particular act during childbirth that the Akkadian word *ḫarašu* describes. Therefore the use of this word as an epithet in a text concerned with (difficult) childbirth is entirely appropriate.[247]

Finally, personal names featuring *ḥrš* are found in Amorite,[248] Ugaritic,[249] Hebrew,[250] OSA[251] and Punic.[252]

ltpn

The word *ltpn* occurs a total of 25 times, 14 times in the mythic tablets[253] and 11

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247 In the Linear B ritual tablet KN Fh 998, Myc. *e-ru-sa* has been identitifed as the name of a divinity, the recipient of a votive gift of oil, Palmer (1963: 420). Is it possible that this is the same epithet we find in KTU 1.12? Given El's connection with childbirth and the association of the word *ktr* with such a process also, it is extremely difficult to determine whether El or Kothar-wa-Hassis is meant (see Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín [1999]). This Myc. deity, however, may also be identified as *ersē* (see discussion at *ab adm*).

248 *ḫa-ri-ša-an* (√*ḥrš*, **ḥrš*) Huffmon (1967: 205).

249 *bn ḥrš* (KTU 4.214:15).

250 *ḥrš* (1 Chr. 9:15).

251 *ḥrš* (Ryckmans i, 99); *ḥršt* (Ryckmans i, 99).

252 *bnḥrš* (CIS 637:3).

253 Baal Cycle (×12): KTU 1.1:ii:18; iii:6, 21; iv:13, 18; KTU 1.4:iv:58; KTU 1.5:vi:11; KTU 1.6:i:49; iii:4, 10, 14; iv:11; Lesser Myths: KTU 1.24:44 (*lṯpn*); KTU 1.25:5 (*lṯpn*).

times in the epic texts.[254] On 24 occasions, it is used either as an epithet or, as has been suggested, as the personal name of El.[255] Once only does *lṭpn* occur as a common noun.[256] The word is not found in the Ugaritic onomasticon. The following combinations of *lṭpn* are found: *lṭpn* (plus variant *lẓpn*), *lṭpn ḥtkk*, *lṭpn il d pid* (and the variant *lẓpn il ḏ pid*) and *lṭpn w qdš*. The supposed title *ṯr lṭpn* is not considered here,[257] because I believe that this is the one instance of *lṭpn* as a noun (see discussion at *ṯr* below).

The absolute use of *lṭpn* to describe El occurs only twice, in the rhetorical question posed by Keret's children: 'Or gods, do they die? The offspring of *lṭpn* not live?'[258] Here, it may be argued, are two examples of *lṭpn* as the personal name of El,[259] given that no explanation of the word is offered by a following construction as in all other examples.

lṭpn il d pid

Since the suggestion by Bauer[260] that the words *lṭpn* and *pid* are related to Arabic *laṭīf* and *fu'ād*, subsequent translations of the combination *lṭpn il d pid*, and all the other formulae containing either *lṭpn* or *d pid*, have been influenced by Bauer's translation, '*der Freundliche, der mit gemüt*' which identifies the concepts of

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254 Keret (×10): KTU 1.15:ii:13; KTU 1.16:i:11, 21, 23; ii:44, 49; iv:2, 9; v:10, 23. Aqhat: KTU 1.18:i:15.

255 Healey (1998: 350).

256 KTU 1.16:iv:2.

257 E.g. Ginsberg (1946: 29); Pope (1955: 43); Driver (1956: 42-3); Greenstein (1997: 36); Wyatt (1998: 232).

258 KTU 1.16:i:22-23; ii:43-44. Note that the first statement is uttered by *ilḥu*, which means 'El lives', or 'El is life'. In the light of this passage, the name may also be interpreted to mean 'gods live'.

259 Healey (1998: 350).

260 Bauer (1933).

'kindness' (*ltpn*) and 'compassion' (*pid*) as being characteristic of El: 'the gracious one, god of kindness',[261] 'Beneficent El Benign',[262] 'the benevolent merciful El',[263] 'the Kindly One, El, the Merciful',[264] 'Kindly One, El Benign',[265] '*l e Miséricordieux au grand coeur*',[266] 'Latipan kindly god',[267] 'the benevolent, good-natured El';[268] 'the compassionate, god of mercy'.[269] Not surprisingly, *ltpn il d pid* is often compared with the Hebrew epithets *rḥwm* and *ḥnwn*, used in the Hebrew Bible to describe Yahweh.[270] The epithet *rḥm(n)* is, thus far, unattested for El at Ugarit.[271]

The personal name *ḥnil* occurs once at Ugarit.[272] The one occasion where *rḥm(n)* has been identified as an epithet of El, is in the proverbs of *Aḥiqar* (vi:14),[273] but here, it is more likely that the deity referred to as *rḥmn* is Shamash, the divine judge of the Assyrian pantheon; the world-view behind Aḥiqar.[274]

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261 Al-Yasin (1952: 146).

262 Pope (1955: 44).

263 Dahood (1958: 65ff.).

264 Gray (1965: 160).

265 Ginsberg, *ANET*, 133.

266 *TO i*, 256.

267 *CML²*, 60.

268 Hermann (1995). De Moor (1987: 23): 'the Benevolent, Ilu the Good-natured'.

269 Wyatt (1998). It should be noted, however, that Wyatt (2002: 48) now follows Healey (1998) and translates *ltpn il d pid* as 'the Wise One, the Percipient'.

270 The occurrence of *ʾl* in sequence with *rḥwm* and *ḥnwn* (Ex. 34:6; Ps. 86:15; Jon. 4:2; Neh. 9:31) should be understood as appellative, 'God', although its occurrence with the DN Yahweh (Ps. 103:8; 111:4; 145:8), might cause one to wonder if this is an old description of El adopted by Yahweh.

271 It is applied to either Athirat or Anat in KTU 1.23:13 (*rḥm‹y›*), 16, 28 and KTU 1.15:ii:6.

272 KTU 332:8. See the discussion on the personal names compounded with *ḥnn* below.

273 'A king is like (the) Merciful (*rḥmn*), moreover, his voice [is] high. Who is there who can stand before him, but (he) with whom El is?' Aḥiqar (vi:14), following the edition of Porten and Yardeni (1993).

274 Lindberger (1983: 93, 244).

Further, the sense of the saying in Aḥiqar supports this view — it is with the protection of El that one may stand before the celestial judge Shemesh.[275] In KTU 1.65, *ḫnn* is in some way associated with El, perhaps as a hypostasis,[276] but it is also possible that it is an epithet of Athirat (see discussion on *ḫnn il* above).

In a recent article Healey argued that *lṯpn* was the personal name of El and convincingly showed that the meanings of both *lṯpn* and *pid* are to be located within the sphere of mental acuity.[277] As Healey noted, '"Laṯīpān, the Perceptive God" ... fits perfectly well with Ilu's perceived character as wise'.[278] Further, El is consistently referred to as 'wise'.[279]

The word *pid* is found only in the phrases *lṯpn il d pid* (× 15)[280] and *ṯr il d pid* (× 2).[281] The fact that the word never occurs alone as a freestanding epithet and always follows the relative pronoun *d* (and once *ḏ*) suggests that this word is not an epithet but describes a quality belonging to El. That this word is reserved solely as a description of El further suggests that *pid* is a special characteristic of El alone.[282] Bauer compared Ug. *pid* with Arab. *fuʾād*.[283] Healey accepted the etymology suggested by Bauer (1933), but preferred 'the most common meaning

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275 In this light, see the anthroponym *imdi-ilum*, 'My Stand is God/El', Gröndahl (1967: 108).

276 KTU 1.65:6.

277 Healey (1998: 350), who also drew attention to KTU 1.1:iv:18 where El calls himself *lṯpn il* [*d pid*].

278 Healey (1998: 350).

279 KTU 1.3:v:30; KTU 1.4:iv:41; v:3; KTU 1.16:iv:2.

280 Including the variant form *lṯpn il ḏ pid*.

281 KTU 1.4:ii:10; iii:31.

282 The personal names compounded from *√*pʾd* in the Ugaritic onomasticon are hypocoristic: *pí-ʾá-dá-ya*, *ᶠpí-id-da-ya*, *pí-da-ya*, *pí-id-da* and *pí-di-ya*, 'knowledge is from DN'? But the fact that this word is only ever used of El suggests that the theophoric element involved is the DN *il*. Gröndahl (1967: 170).

283 Bauer (1933: 83); Wehr, 810, *fuʾād*, 'heart, mind'.

of *fu'ād* ... (which) has more to do with mental acuity than kindness'.[284] It is also possible that the description *pid*, 'percipient',[285] derives from Hurrian *piz-*, *paz-*, 'to know'; 'knowledge'.[286]

It is, perhaps, not without coincidence that Kronos bears the epithet Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης, usually translated as 'Kronos, crooked of wisdom', which is certainly reminiscent of Ugaritic *ltpn il d pid*, and may suggest that the Ugaritic references to El's wisdom hint at more than just benign wisdom. It should be remembered that in the Baal myth and also in Keret, it is El who pulls the strings and controls the action.

The description of El as *ltpn il d pid* occurs a total of 14 times, nine times in the Baal Cycle,[287] three times in Keret[288] and once in both Aqhat and KTU 1.24.[289]

ltpn ḥtkk

The construction *ltpn ḥtkk*, 'the Percipient, your Progenitor', occurs three times,[290] always parallel with the construction *ṯr il abk* and only ever used in reference to El as *ḥtk* of gods, never of humans.[291] For (royal) humans the term *šph ltpn* seems to be preferred.

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284 Healey (1998: 350).

285 Healey (1998: 350f.).

286 Speiser (1941). In this light see also the obscure Akkadian word, *puādum*, *CDA*, 277, which may in fact mean 'wisdom' (*awatum puadum*).

287 KTU 1.1:iii:21; iv:13, 18; KTU 1.4:iv:58; KTU 1.5:vi:11; KTU 1.6:i:49; iii:4, 10, 14; iv:11.

288 KTU 1.15:ii:13-14; KTU 1.16:v:10, 23 (*ltpn il b pid*); KTU

289 KTU 1.24:44-45, *lṯpn il ḏ pid*.

290 KTU 1.1:ii:18; iii:6; KTU 1.6:iv:11.

291 Cunchillos, *HUS*, 361. See also KTU 1.108:25, for the use of the homonym *ḥtk*, 'rule', Wyatt (1998: 398, n. 27).

ltpn w qdš

The formula *ltpn w qdš* is usually understood to be a composite title of El and translated accordingly.[292] That *qdš* refers to El may be seen in the description of the gods as *bn qdš* (// *ilm*),[293] which may mean, quite literally, 'sons of the Holy One', or may simply be an attributive phrase 'Holy Ones',[294] which does not intend an epithet of El, although being divine, El also comes under this designation. Others see here an epithet of Athirat.[295] The combination *ltpn w qdš* is found three times only in the final tablet of the epic of Keret and on each occasion parallel with *il* in the question:[296]

ap krt bnm il	'Is Keret the son of El?
šph ltpn w qdš	Offspring[297] of *ltpn w qdš*?'

However, we may translate this question slightly differently, understanding not a composite name describing El, but a single epithet (*ltpn*) followed by an adjective describing Keret's divine status as king and offspring of El: 'Is Keret Son of El? Offspring of the Percipient One — and holy?' Here we should note the variant wording of the remaining passage where this question occurs and also the following question, which lends support to my suggestion:

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292 E.g. Pope (1955: 43), 'Beneficent and Holy'; Wyatt (1996; 298), 'Compassionate and Holy One'; Greenstein (1997: 31), 'Gentle and Holy One'.

293 *ilm // bn qdš*: KTU 1.2:i:20-21, 38; KTU 1.17:i:2-3, 11, 13, 22. See also KTU 1.123:20 where we read *qdš mlk i*[l?] and my discussion at *il šr* above.

294 See here the discussion of Wyatt (1980).

295 Van Zijl (1972: 16); de Moor (1971: 130); *CARTU*, 166; *TO i*, 124, n. n.

296 KTU 1.16:i:9-11, 21; ii:48-[49].

297 See the discussion of Pardee (2000: 328), who rejects the view (*DLU*, 502) that *tph* in KTU 1.48:2, 13 is a variant of *šph*

KTU 1.16:i:20-23

ikm yrgm bn il krt	How may it be said that Keret is son of El (divine),
šph ltpn w qdš	the offspring of *ltpn* — and holy?
u ilm tmtn	Or do gods die,
šph ltpn l yḥ	the offspring of *ltpn* not live?

The circumstance that the sequence *ltpn w qdš* occurs only in the passages that question the divinity of the king may be purely coincidental, but this seems unlikely. The poet may have chosen this formula, or created it, for purely rhetorical purposes, but there is indeed the possibility that *qdš* describes Keret, not El. The parallelism and prosodic arrangement certainly support both views, but it is my conviction that the poet is using a known title of El: *ltpn w qdš*, but subverting it to suggest that the divine status of the king is to be questioned.[298]

mlk

El is king of the gods, head of the pantheon and leader of the divine assembly. As such he is always consulted by the other gods before they act. No discussion of the etymology of *mlk* is required here and there is no alternative meaning applicable. Therefore we shall not be discussing this title.[299]

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[298] See here the discussion of Wyatt (1999-2000).

[299] For the possibility that Ammonite *mlkm* refers to El, see chapter 10 below.

mt w šr

The single occurrence[300] of this compound epithet has provoked many attempts to explain the name,[301] with most commentators perceiving in the first element the divine name Mot[302] and in the second a reference to his role as a god of decay[303] or, unjustifiably, evil.[304] Some have attempted to identify an otherwise unknown deity,[305] or have simply left the phrase untranslated,[306] while others recognized a reference to El.[307]

Wyatt drew attention to the formula *špt l arṣ špt l šmm*, 'a lip to the netherworld, a lip to the heavens',[308] used to describe the insatiable appetite of the newly born twins[309] and also the god Mot,[310] and further suggested that both the twins and Mot are, in fact, hypostases of Athtar. If this identification is indeed correct, then it is extremely unlikely, as Wyatt concluded, that *mt w šr* is to be identified as Mot. In Job 18, the first born of El is identified as Mot and similarly

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300 KTU 1.23:8.

301 Pardee (1997: 276f., n. 13) lists some of the various suggestions.

302 Suggested by Virolleaud (1933: 138) and subsequently followed by, amongst others, Ginsberg (1935: 48), Albright (1938: 38), Driver (1956: 121), Kosmala (1964: 147-51), Gordon (1965: 431), Oldenburg (1969: 34f.), Tsumura (1974), de Moor (1987).

303 Driver (1956: 22), Gaster (1961: 420).

304 Pope (1977: 396), de Moor (1987: 120, n. 5) and Tsumura (1974: 407). There is no evidence that Mot was seen to represent evil. While it is fair to say that most humans fear death and Ugaritians would be no different in this respect, the words of Aqhat to Anat (KTU 1.17:vi:35-9) reveal no perception of death as an evil thing but, rather, as a natural process which all humans experience.

305 Largement proposed that *mt w šr* was one of the gracious gods.

306 Del Olmo Lete (1981: 441).

307 Nielsen (1936: 81, n. 1), Dussaud (1937, 1941: 104), Aistleitner (1964: 59, n. e), Wyatt (1977: 379-81; 1992: 426-30; 1998: 326, nn. 10-12) and, cautiously following Wyatt, Pardee (1997: 276f., n. 13).

308 Wyatt (1977: 381).

309 KTU 1.23:61f.

310 KTU 1.5:ii:2.

described as having a ravenous appetite.[311]

The passage which we will discuss below,[312] it has been suggested, describes El undergoing the rite of premarital circumcision[313] in preparation for the *hieros gamos* narrated later in the mythic narrative.[314] Apart from the report of Philo of Byblos that El/Kronos circumcised himself,[315] no other descriptions of gods undergoing circumcision are available to us,[316] although it is possible that the Kronos and Kumarbi traditions preserve a distorted memory in the theme of castration.[317] Yahweh's use of circumcision as the symbol[318] of his covenant with Abraham suggests that he was also perceived as a circumcised god.[319]

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311 Job 18:12-13. Habel (1985: 287f.); Wyatt (1990a: 207-16).

312 KTU 1.23:8-11.

313 Wyatt (1998: 327, n. 12).

314 KTU 1.23:30ff. Gese (1970: 81) *'Der zweite Abschnitt (Z. 8-11) stellt El in der Ausgangssituation vor dem Hieros Gamos dar'.*

315 *PE* 1.10.33. After El/Kronos sacrificed his only son to his father Ouranos in order to avert plague, he circumcised himself and then forced his 'allies' (called *Eloim/Kronioi*) to also undergo circumcision.

316 Although I have previously identified the technical word for circumcision (*qṣ*) in KTU 1.24, there is no description of the actual performance of the rite in that text. For discussion, see Allan (2001).

317 Gaster (1946: 59) thought that KTU 1.23:8-11 described castration. It is certainly worth noting that the theme of childbirth follows the act of castration. According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 188-92), Aphrodite is born from Ouranos' phallus *after* it has been amputated by Kronos using a flint bladed ἅρπη, the material traditionally used in Semitic circumcision ceremonies (Compare here Akk. *ḫariptu*, 'to shed blood'; *ḫarāpu*, 'to cut away'; and most interestingly *ḫarupu*, 'to be betrothed'). In the Anatolian myth Kingship in Heaven (*KUB* xxxiii 120 + 119 = *KUB* xxxvi 31), Kumarbi is impregnated with the storm god after he swallows Anu's genitals which he has bitten off (cf. the Egyptian myth of the Contendings of Horus and Seth, where Seth becomes pregnant after eating lettuce laced with Horus' semen). Meltzer (1974: 155) discusses a passage from the Book of the Dead (Spell 17) which has been described as Re's self castration, but may equally describe circumcision (see discussion below).

318 See Eilberg-Schwarz (1990: 146f.) for this distinction.

319 Gen. 17:9-14. Eilberg-Schwartz (1990: 147ff.) noted the 'concern of the priestly writer with the consequences of reproduction' and that fertility is the central theme of Yahweh's

KTU 1.23:8-11

mt w šr ỿtb	Enthroned is the Husband-and-Beloved,
bdh ḫṭ ṯkl	in his hand the staff of sterility,
bdh ḫṭ ulmn	in his hand the staff of childlessness.
yzbrnn zbrm gpn	They prune it, the pruners of the vine,
yṣmdnn ṣmdm gpn	They bind it, the binders of the vine,
yšql šdmth km gpn	They let his tendril fall - as does the vine.

My translation, 'Husband-and-Beloved', is based upon the identification of El as *mt*, 'husband',[320] by the two women he seduces and later marries[321] and by the observation that they refer to El's penis as *mṭ*, 'staff',[322] obviously a play upon the sound of *mt*, 'husband'. The second element *šr* does not recur in the narrative and is here understood to mean 'beloved',[323] although 'ruler' is certainly possible.

Alternatively, *šr* may be derived from √*šry/w*, 'to loosen', reflecting El's role as the loosener of the womb,[324] or it may refer to his shooting the birds from the sky later in the narrative.[325] We cannot be certain about the precise nuance intended, due to the absence of any positive identification of the use of *šr* to

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covenant with Abraham.

320 Akk. *mutu(m)*, 'husband, man, warrior'; Eth. *met*, 'husband'. Interestingly, note Eg. *mt*, 'staff', 'penis', 'vessel (of the body)'.

321 KTU 1.23:40, 46. The two wives whom El is to marry are similarly denoted by a double name: *aṯrt w rḫmy* (KTU 1.23:13 [*rḫm‹y›*], 28) and are hypostases of Shapsh, El's partner in the sacred marriage and the goddess praised when the children are born (KTU 1.23:54).

322 KTU 1.23:37, 40, 44, 47. This raises the possibility that Danel holds his penis while he curses the cities of Abilim and Mararat-Tagulalu-Baniri (*mṭ ydh*, KTU 1.19:iii:49, 56), a traditional Semitic symbol of the sincerity of the speaker.

323 Cf. Akk. *šarru*, 'beloved', *CDA*, 361.

324 He is invoked in the incantation to the goddesses of childbirth, the Kotharat (KTU 1.24:40-50).

325 See the use of *šry/w* in KTU 1.4:v:9 to describe Baal firing lightning flashes towards earth.

describe El, although it has been suggested that he is called *šr* in KTU 1.12:ii:50-1.[326]

The idea that El had two wives is found elsewhere in Ugaritic in the phrase *ab šnm aṯtm*, 'the father of the Bright One has two wives';[327] it is most likely reflected also in KTU 1.12.[328]

Cross wrote of a Phoenicio-Punic temple at Tas Silg, 'originally dedicated... perhaps to the triad, *ʾĒl* and his two wives', strongly supported by the references.[329]

This tradition certainly survives in the Hebrew Bible, in the Abram-Sarah-Hagar story,[330] in the tale of Lot and his two daughters,[331] and in Ezekiel, who identifies the cities of Samaria and Jerusalem as the two daughters of Yahweh.[332] Ezekiel and Hosea may also recall this tradition, although in both of these passages there is only one wife![333]

Kronos/El, according to Philo of Byblos made the twin sisters Rhea and Dione his wives,[334] while on offering tablets from Pylos, written in Linear B, we

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326 Wyatt (1977: 381).

327 KTU 1.2:i:10. But note, however, my comments about this reading in my discussion of the term *ab šnm* above.

328 KTU 1.12:1-33. Here the two mothers (*tlš, dmgy*) of the deities born are identified as daughters of El (l. 9), he is clearly the father of the children, as it is El who names them.

329 Cross (1973: 30).

330 Gen. 16. See Ginsberg (1936), Wyatt (1994 and 1996).

331 Gen. 19:30-38. See Porter (1978).

332 Ezek. 23, Galambush (1992).

333 Ezekiel 16 and Hosea 2:4-19, 21-5. See Wyatt (1996: 219-91) for extensive discussion. Pope (1977: 396), who translates *mt w šr* as 'Death and Evil', writes of KTU 1.23:8-11, 'there is in the ritual portion ... before he (El) is able to consummate union, mention of a vine-pruning ritual'.

334 *PE* 1.10.22. He also married Astarte, who accompanied Rhea and Dione in an attack against him instigated by his father Ouranos. The list of children born to Kronos by these wives

find the following formula: *wa-na-ka-te wa-na-so-i*, 'to the King and the two Queens',[335] denoting a deity with two wives. Is this, perhaps, Kronos?[336]

El sits on a chair, probably his throne,[337] and holds his phallus, here called *ḫṯ*[338] and twice modified by the parallel words *ṯkl*[339] and *ulmn*.[340] Both of these phrases may be understood adjectivally: *ḫṯ ṯkl*, 'sterile stick', *ḫṯ ulmn*, 'childless stick', but more than likely occur as the second member of a construct phrase, as we translated earlier.

El's holding his penis is reminiscent of ithyphallic statues (particularly those of the Egyptian god Min), which present the deity as holding an erect penis.[341] That the phallus in such statues was detachable may have accommodated the substitution of a circumcised version if the events of our passage were ever

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supports Oden's view (1988: 51) that, 'In Sanchuniathon, El's consorts are Asherah (Rhea/Dione) and Aštart':

Kronos + Rhea		7 sons
Kronos + Dione	2 daughters	
Kronos + Astarte	7 daughters	2 sons

Maier (1986: 60) argued that in Philo of Byblos 'the dividing of ʾAšerah/ʾElat into two seperate beings, Rhea and Dione, is perhaps due to a misunderstanding, whether by Sanchuniathon or Philo, of the ancient Phoenician and Canaanite mythology, but more likely to a euhemeristic analysis of the material'. It would appear from the evidence of KTU 1.23, that Sanchuniathon understood this mytholgy perfectly, and knew the tradition of El's two wives, as well as that of his one wife.

335 PY Fr 1227 and PY Fr 1235 (*wa-na-so-i wa-na-ka-te*).

336 Palmer (1963: 249): '*wanassa* is known as the name of the Cypriot goddess identified with Astarte'. See also Hooker (1979: 108ff.).

337 El sits (*yṯbn*) and counts the months until birth in lines 56-7

338 The simple meaning of *ḫṯ* is 'staff, stick', but here the meaning 'penis' should be understood.

339 The phrase *ḫṯ ṯk*[l] also occurs on a fragment of a tablet (KTU 1.95:4) found in the Central Palace, room 81. The fragment is too brief for analysis.

340 Contrary to the view of Tsumura (1974: 409) that *mt w šr* holds two staffs, the text provides evidence that there is only one staff, referred to twice, poetically. If there were two staffs, the pruning and binding sequence would not use the singular form of the suffix (*-n*) but, rather, employ the dual form (*-m*).

341 For a picture, See Kemp (1989).

reenacted using such a statue in the cult.[342] It is possible that the following phrase from the Book of the Dead (Spell 17) describes Ra circumcizing himself:

> *pw-tri rf sw snf pw pr m ḥnnw n rˁ m-ḫt wꜣ.f r irt šˁdw im.f ḏs.f.*
> 'What is it? It is the blood which came forth from the phallus of Re after he began to perform cuttings-off on himself',[343]

In ancient Hebrew thought, circumcision was believed to render the penis capable of producing offspring and failure to perform this act was 'equated with impotence and infertility'.[344] This analogy was also applied to fruit trees, with young, immature trees termed uncircumcised (*ʿrl*).[345]

The traditional interpretation of *ulmn* is that it is an abstract form derived from *almnt* 'widow', but perhaps we have, rather than a reference to widowhood, a description of the consequences of *ṯkl*, the inability to count the months from conception to birth.[346] This view would understand not the word *ulmn*, but the phrase *ul mn*, 'not counting' (i.e., 'childlessness'). It may be no surprise that the

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342 Van der Plas (1987a: 6) discusses a seated ithyphallic deity; Amenapet of Djeme, who is also known as 'king of the gods', 'Bull that lifts the arm' and 'lord of the double plumes'. None of these epithets is ever applied to the standing figure of Amenapet.

343 Text and translation, Meltzer (1974: 155).

344 Eilberg-Schwarz (1990: 148).

345 Lev. 19:23. During the sabbath year, untrimmed grape vines are called 'Nazirites' (Lev. 25:5, 11) because they, like the Nazirite's hair, are left uncut during the period of consecration, Eilberg-Schwarz (1990: 151).

346 The phrase *ṯkl bnwt* occurs in KTU 1.100:61 as a description of the either loss of children, Wyatt (1998: 384), or virility, Astour (1968:22), Moore (1990: 72). Mal. 3:11 describes the blighted vine as *škl*.

counting of the months of pregnancy is performed by El in this very text[347] and also by Danel[348] after copulation and before their respective offspring are born.

The act of circumcision is described by the metaphors of pruning (*zbr*) and binding (*ṣmd*) the vine (*gpn*).[349] This vine, now rendered capable of producing fruit,[350] probably represents El's penis, or at least the foreskin, although Wyatt has already suggested that *šdmth*, 'his tendril', is the metaphor for foreskin.[351] Spell 17 from the Book of the Dead (quoted above) describes Ra's act of castration or circumcision as *šʿdw*, 'cuttings-off', which may support the view that El's foreskin is alluded to in Ug. *šdmth*: Eg. **šʿd mt.f*, 'cuttings-off of his penis' = Ug. *šdmth*.

The above evidence has, it is hoped, shown that *mt w šr* describes El.

qdš

While *qdš*, 'holy', is used in reference to El,[352] it is possible that it is not used as an epithet and may be best understood as an appellative of deity much like *il* itself. However, if we understand the description of the gods as *bn qdš* literally and not as an attributive phrase 'Holy Ones', then it is indeed possible that *qdš* was an epithet applied to El frequently enough for it to become applied to his offspring.[353] Support for the view that *qdš* is an epithet comes from the description of the gods

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347 KTU 1.23:57-8.

348 KTU 1.17:ii:43.

349 See Gen. 34 for the description of the procedures following circumcision.

350 *pry*, 'fruit', is commonly used as a metaphor of children in Hebrew literature (e.g., Gen. 30:2; Deut. 7:13; Lam. 2:20; Ps. 21:11).

351 Wyatt (1992a: 149-53).

352 KTU 1.2:i:21, 38; iii:20; KTU 1.16:i:9-11, 21; ii:[49]; KTU 1.17:i:3, 11, 13, 22; KTU 1.94:2?5? (b]*n.qdš.kb*[).

353 *ilm // bn qdš*: KTU 1.2:i:20-21, 38; KTU 1.17:i:2-3, 11, 13, 22. See also KTU 1.123:20 where we read *qdš mlk i*[l?] and my discussions at *il šr* and *ltpn w qdš* above.

as *bn qdšt*, 'Sons of the Holy One', obviously a reference to Athirat.[354] The use of *qdš* in *Keret* is ambiguous and perhaps refers to Keret (see discussion at *ltpn* above).[355]

In KTU 1.94, *qdš* occurs in a context identifiable with El. On line 24 we find *qdš il*, which may mean 'the sanctuary of El' and on line 25, *bn qdš*, 'sons of the Holy One?' But the extremely fragmentary condition of the tablet prevents any profitable interpretation. Likewise, it is most tempting to see, in the phrase, *qdš mlk i*[,[356] a title of El: 'Holiness of King E[l]'.[357] Unfortunately the state of the tablet, with damage to the text before and after this reading, makes it very difficult to justify.

qny

Reference to El as *qny*, 'creator' at Ugarit is rare. This is odd given the many references to his paternity of the gods, as well as his propensity for fatherhood, e.g. the graphic description of him siring the twin avatars of Venus, Shahar and Shalem. Baal calls him 'our Creator' (*qnyn*) and once he is referred to as *qny w adn bn ilm*.[358] The epithet of Athirat *qnyt ilm*,[359] further suggests that El was referred to as *qny* more regularly than this one example suggests and as the verbal uses, noted above, attest to.

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354 KTU 1.81:17. The Ug. PN *qdšt* (KTU 4.69:v:11; KTU 4.412:i:11) is a masculine name (it occurs as a patronym) and is further evidence that Athirat (and therefore El) bore the epithets *qdšt* and *qdš*.

355 KTU 1.16:i:9-11, 21; ii:[49].

356 KTU 1.123:20.

357 Or, 'The Holy One, King E[l]'.

358 KTU 1.3:v:9.

359 KTU 1.4:i:22 + //s.

ṯr

Apart from the few times where *ṯr* means 'bull' (the animal),[360] *ṯr* occurs 34 times in the Ugaritic mythological and epic tablets as an El title or epithet.[361] It is found in the combinations *ṯr ab-* (+ pron. suff.), *il ṯr il abh*, *mlk ṯr abh*, *ṯr ltpn* (although here *ṯr* is used absolutely, see below).[362] In the ritual tablets, the composite names *atdb w ṯr* and *ṯr ʿllmn* are the only occasions where *ṯr* occurs as a theonym or divine epithet, obviously independent of El.[363] However, it is unlikely that the word *ṯr* in these examples means 'bull', as Pope suggested,[364] but rather 'prince' or 'king', compare Akk. *šarru(m)*.[365]

El is the only deity in the Ugaritic pantheon referred to as *ṯr*. This epithet suggests the attributes of leadership, strength and fertility.[366] Herrmann added to this list the quality of 'divine dignity',[367] probably comparing the human military title *ṯr*, in *Keret*.[368] He also draws attention to the possibility that *ṯr* describes El as

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360 Ug. *ṯr* is attested 48 times in the texts from Ugarit. Excluding the administrative texts (KTU 4.46:11; KTU 4.205:1 and KTU 4.360:3, where the word may mean 'lord, overseer'), the 34 occurrences where it is used as an epithet of El and the two times it occurs in a composite DN, the word definitely means 'bull' on seven occasions.

361 KTU 1.1:ii:[18]; iii:[5], 26; v:22; KTU 1.2:i:16, 33, 36; iii:16, 17, 19, 21; KTU 1.3:iv:54; v:10, 35; KTU 1.4:i:4; ii:10; iii:31; iv:1, 39, 47; vii:4; KTU 1.6:iv:10, 26; KTU 1.14:i:41; ii:6, 23; iv:6; KTU 1.15:ii:2; iv:8, 19; KTU 1.16:iv:2; KTU 1.17:i:23 KTU 1.92:15; KTU 1.101:8.

362 For a discussion of Bull imagery in the Ugaritic and biblical texts, see Curtis (1990).

363 KTU 1.123:25; KTU 1.161:7, 23. see here de Moor (1970: 199, no. 59), who suggests that *atbd* is Hurrian Aštabi, with *ṯr* being the 'usual Ugaritic transcription of Hurrian *šarri*'.

364 Pope (1977: 178), 'the Bull Savant'.

365 Spronk (1986: 190) suggested 'the mighty, the unrelated', but this is too vague. Given the funerary nature of the text this tablet occurs in, *ṯr ʿllmn* more than likely refers to a dead king.

366 Pope (1955: 35), noted 'El's amative propensity' in KTU 1.23 in his discussion of 'El as Bull', but nowhere in this text is El referred to as 'bull'.

367 The quality of 'divine dignity' is so vague that I would personally discount such a concept, which is perhaps influenced by Christian theological speculation on the nature of the divine.

368 KTU 1.15:iv:6, 8, 17, 19 (// *šby*).

a creator god and points to both *ab adm* and *bny bnwt*.[369] But the Ugaritic texts never describe El as creator of anything except divine beings; his role in the birth of humans is as the one who blesses or empowers fathers with the virility required to conceive,[370] advises others in the most effective means of procuring a wife to bear children[371] and possibly grants a successful period of labour during childbith.[372] As we have seen above, the titles *ab adm* and *bny bnwt* need not be understood literally, with respect to humans, but are most likely ideological.

In the Hebrew Bible the epithet *ʾbyr* occurs in the titles *ʾbyr yʿqb*[373] and *ʾbyr yśrʾl*[374] and has been compared with Ugaritic *ṯr*. Although the formulation of the epithet is somewhat different. The use of the name Jacob and then Israel denotes a relationship between the deity and the patriarch of some form and bears some similarity to Ugaritic *ṯr il abh*.[375] Tur-Sinai's famous emendation of Hosea 8:6, from *ky myśrʾl* to *ky my šr ʾl*, may indeed restore an Ugaritic epithet to the Hebrew text, but has received little or no support from later scholars.[376] Pope wondered whether the Kabbalistic names of the angels *šrʾl* and *ṯrʾl*[377] preserved the traditional conception of El as a bull and noted that Kronos was 'sometimes conceived in the form of a bull'.[378]

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369 Herrmann (*DDD*², 275).

370 KTU 1.17:i:34ff.

371 KTU 1.14:i:9ff.

372 KTU 1.24:44-45.

373 Gen. 49:24; Isa. 49:26; 60:16; Ps. 132:2, 5.

374 Isa. 1:24.

375 Note that Ug. *ibr* is parallel with *ṯr* in KTU 1.12:ii:55, which confirms that the word can mean 'bull'.

376 Tur-Sinai *EBB i*, col. 31a.

377 Cf. the Ugaritic personal name *ṯryl*.

378 Pope (1955: 35, nn. 50 and 51 respectively).

ṯr il ab-

This description of El always carries the pronominal suffix attached to *ab*, denoting the deity of whom El is father. Word order is occasionally varied: *ṯr ab-il*, as well as one or two of the elements replaced by other terms (e.g., *ṯr il d pid*, *ṯr ltpn*) commonly used to describe El. The formula always begins with *ṯr*, never with *ab* or *il*.[379] On three occasions the word order is varied, with *il* and *ab* reversed.[380]

The combination *ṯr il abh(/k/y/n)* may be translated in the following ways:[381] 'the Bull god, his father', 'Bull El, his father' or 'Bull, El his father'. It is preserved on 20 occasions in the Baal tablets.[382] Seven times it occurs as a parallel member, always in the initial position, with the following formulae: three times with *ltpn ḥtkk*,[383] three times also with *mlk d yknnh*[384] and once with *pḫr mʿd*.[385] The first two phrases are probably best seen as synonymous, with *ḥtk* preferred in the Baal-Yam conflict and **kwn* in the struggle against Mot.

The title occurs in the following contexts in the Baal tablets: (a) Formula of identification or address; (b) Introduction to direct speech; (c) Shapsh's warning to Athtar and Mot; (d) Introductory formula of intercession.

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379 KTU 1.13:21 may attest an occurrence of *il* at the head of this formula, if the reconstruction of Wyatt (... *il* [*ṯr*]| *abh* [1998: 172, cf. n. 29]) is to be preferred to the reading of *KTU*[2] (... *il* | *abh*). I do not think that this reconstruction is correct and prefer to see an example of an other formula comparable with KTU 112:i:9, *il abn*, 'El our father'.

380 KTU 1.2:i:16 (*ṯr abk il*), 33 (*ṯr abh il*), 36 (*ṯr abh il*).

381 I have translated one form only for convenience.

382 KTU 1.1:iii:[18]; iii:[5], 26; KTU 1.2:iii:[6], 16, 17, 19, 21; i:16, 33, 36; KTU 1.3:iv:54; v:10, 35; KTU 1.4:i:[5]; iv:[1], 47; KTU 1.6:iv:10; vi:26; KTU 1.117:3. N. Wyatt (1998: 94, n. 103) suggests a 'tentative' restoration of this formula to KTU 1.4:ii:10: *ṯr il ‹abh›*, which would raise our total to 21.

383 KTU 1.1:ii:18; iii:5; KTU 1.4:iv:47.

384 KTU 1.3:v:35; KTU 1.4:i:5; iv:47.

385 KTU 1.2:i:16.

(a) As a formula of identification or address in divine diplomatic circles, the title is used on three occasions, to identify El as the sender of a message.[386] The context is one of (divine) royal diplomacy. Here, the formula is recited by one or two messengers (*mlak*) to the recipient, always in the second person, identifying El as the sender of the message to first Anat,[387] then Kothar-wa-Hasis[388] and, finally, Shapsh.[389] The epithets *ṯr* and *ab* identify El, the sender of a message, as the superior party. The substance of the message in these contexts is a command for the recipient deity to appear before him.[390]

When Yam sends an embassy to El, to demand that Baal be handed over to him, the formula precedes the messengers reporting Yam's message, identifying El as the recipient. It is in this section that the word order of *il* and *ab* are reversed: *ṯr abh il*, 'Bull, his father, El'.[391] Perhaps the central position of this title conveys a particular emphasis regarding El's relationship with Yam in contrast to that with Baal, for when El responds to Yam, the formula retains *ab* in the central position.

(b) Three times as an introduction to direct speech by El.[392] Always in the third person, it is used to introduce El's speech, which always follows an act of obeisance made by the god who has arrived at El's palace either at his behest, or by messengers on behalf of another god. Our first example is El's audience with

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386 KTU 1.1:ii:[18]; iii:[5]; KTU 1.6:iv:10.

387 KTU 1.1:ii:18.

388 KTU 1.1:iii:[6].

389 KTU 1.6:iv:11.

390 In royal correspondence, the title 'father' is commonly applied to, or used by, a superior communicating with an inferior, who also may be referred to as 'son'.

391 KTU 1.2:i:16, 33.

392 KTU 1.1:iii:26; KTU 1.2:iii:[6]; i:36.

Kothar-wa-Hassis.[393] El's speech has been lost, but the restoration[394] presumes that El instructs Kothar to build a palace for Yam. This command is also the case with our second example, which is better preserved.[395] The third occurrence of this use of the formula is El's positive reply to Yam's demands that Baal be handed over to him.[396]

(c) In the episode featuring Shapsh's dire warning to Athtar concerning his claim(?) to the throne,[397] the title *ṯr il abk* is addressed to Athtar twice, in the second person;[398] first in her statement that El has chosen Yam, and secondly in her warning about El's response. Also, Athtar's reply twice employs the formula twice: once, in the first person — in response to her warning, and in the third person referring to Yam, whom El has chosen.[399] No parallel title is used, but the passage appears to have been arranged in a chiastic pattern, beginning and resolving with El's choice of Yam as king, with Shapsh's warning and Athtar's response in the central position. Understanding the context of the warning is hindered by the fragmentary condition of this column, with lines 11-14 resisting interpretation,[400] but it is probable, from the following narrative, that Athtar has made a claim for Yam's throne, or complains that he has been cast from his throne to make way for Yam. This may be discerned by the predicates Shapsh employs to describe El's reaction to Athtar's outburst/claim(?) in the following summary: 'Bull El your father has shown favour (*ữtir*) to Prince Yam. If Bull El

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393 KTU 1.1:iii:26.

394 Based upon KTU 1.4:v:53-4, *KTU*^{2}, 3, n. 6; Smith (1994: 161, 190f.).

395 KTU 1.2:iii:[6].

396 KTU 1.2:i:33-38.

397 KTU 1.2:iii:15-25.

398 KTU 1.2:iii:16, 17.

399 KTU 1.2:iii:19, 21.

400 Smith (1994: 238); Wyatt (1998: 53f.).

your father hears (*yšmʿ*) you, he will pull up (*ysʿ*) the support of your seat, overturn (*y*[hpk])[401] the throne of your kingship and shatter (*ytbr*) the sceptre of your rule'. Athtar's reply confirms his (reluctant) acceptance of El's ruling: 'Bull El my father has taken it away from me, ... Bull El his father has shown favour to Yam'.[402] A similar warning is given to Mot, with the formulaic title occurring only once.[403] Again, at the words of warning, Mot backs down.

(d) Formula of intercession. The passages recounting the petition to El, to request a palace for Baal[404] and the fragment of a hymn or scribal exercise[405] feature this formula as an introduction to the comparison of the living arrangements of the sons of El with the lack of such for Baal. Is the request purely diplomatic?

In one instance the formula is used alone,[406] although another possible occurrence is uncertain because of damage to the tablet.[407] All other uses of the formula are as a parallel term, in the initial position, once with *il*[408] and four times with the formulaic title *il mlk d yknnh*, 'El the king who created/established him'.[409] KTU 1.117 features the restored title [tr] *il abh* (line 3) which occurs parallel with the equally restored *il m*[lk d yknnh][410]

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401 *KTU*²: 8, n. 13, note that *CTA*, fig. 5, 17 records traces of a *p* and a *k*.

402 The use of the third person suffix is interesting, suggesting that both El and Yam are probably present, with the action unfolding in the Divine Council.

403 KTU 1.6:vi:26.

404 KTU 1.3:iv:54; v:10, 35; KTU 1.4:i:[5]; iv:[1], 47.

405 KTU 1.117:3.

406 KTU 1.3:iv:54.

407 KTU 1.4:iv:1.

408 KTU 1.3:v:10.

409 KTU 1.3:v:35; KTU 1.4:i:5; iv:47.

410 Wyatt (1998: 414).

tr ab- il

The phrase *tr abh/k il* occurs four times in *Keret*, three times with the third person possessive suffix,[411] and once with the second person suffix.[412] Once the phrase occurs parallel with *ab adm*, 'Father of man', and also in the initial position. The context in which the title is used may be divided into two sections: (a) El's appearance to Keret in a dream, and (b) Sacrificial arrangements. The first describes a situation of request, while the second relates the necessary payment due to the god for such a consultation.

In *Aqhat*, once we find the phrase *tr il aby*, 'Bull El my father',[413] parallel with the title *bny bnwt*, 'Maker of offspring', again in the initial position. This is the only occasion where both of these formulae appear together,[414] but it is worth noting that in two of the remaining four passages, which describe El as *bny bnwt*,[415] the context is one of intercession (see d above).[416] Baal intercedes with El on behalf of Danel in order that El might bless Danel so that he may beget a son. Baal presumably stands before El in his palace on Mt Saphon,[417] which would suggest that the use of *ab*, here, is within the context of courtly etiquette,

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411 KTU 1.14:i:41; ii:6; iv:6. Although KTU 1.14:i:41 does not contain the DN *il*, I have included it here because it is likely that *il* has been omitted because it occurs in the preceding colon where Keret is called *n'mn ġlm il mlk tr abh*, 'gracious one, heir of El the king, Bull, his father'.

412 KTU 1.14:ii:24.

413 KTU 1.17:i:23.

414 *bny bnwt* is found on four other occasions, twice parallel with *tr il d pid* (KTU 1.4:ii:11; iii:32) and twice also with *ltpn il d pid* (KTU 1.6:iii:5, 11).

415 KTU 1.4:ii:10f.; iii:31f..

416 I would categorize this use of the formula under (d) above.

417 See Wyatt (1998: 253, n. 15) for discussion and references.

used by an inferior (Baal) to a superior (El), rather than any admission that it is El, not Dagan, who is Baal's father.[418]

The description of El as *ṯr il d pid* occurs twice only and on each occasion it occurs in parallel with *bny bnwt*.[419] In the first passage,[420] Athirat is apparently attempting to seduce El (see the discussion above at *bny bnwt*).[421] Given this context, the use of *ṯr il d pid* is awkward and is perhaps due to the use of a traditional epithet, although one which is preserved only twice. Although this is possible, it is more than likely that this formula is an innovation of the scribe.

The second passage is Athirat's response to Baal and Anat's arrival with gifts for her and the (missing) request that she petition El for a palace for Baal.[422] Her advice that it is El who should be thus feted, once more uses the parallel construction *ṯr il d pid // bny bnwt*.

ṯr ltpn

Is the combination *ṯr ltpn*[423] to be understood as a variant use of formulaic titles, much like *ṯr il d pid*, or do we have here the sole occurrence of *ltpn* as a common noun or adjective, rather than as an epithet of El? The reason for my suspicion that *ṯr ltpn* is not a title of El is the observation that both words are usually used

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418 Neither the DN *dgn*, nor Baal's epithet, *bn dgn*, occur in *Aqhat*.

419 KTU 1.4:ii:10; iii:31.

420 KTU 1.4:ii:10-11.

421 Gibson (1978: 56), De Moor (1987: 47).

422 KTU 1.4:iii:30-32. There are many lacunae in this part of the narrative, but from Athirat's response, it seems that the above synopsis is largely accurate.

423 KTU 1.16:iv:2.

as the first word of a phrase employed as a title of El.[424]

The following translations of the opening lines of this column show that although there have been different interpretations of this difficult section, the assumption that *ṯr ltpn* is a title of El has remained as our examples below illustrate:

1 '... insight [?] like El, wisdom like Bull the Kindly One';[425]

2 'Of El, hear: he who sees thee does perceive ... (that) thou art wise as El, as the bull Lutpan';[426]

3 'The god El's heard your word - it['s] like El's, You have wisdom like Bull, the Gentle One';[427]

4 '... El, listen! Like El your speech [is wise], like Bull the Compassion[ate] you are wise';[428]

5 '... like El's // (your) wisdom like that of the Kindly Bull'.[429]

All previous translations offered for this line are (in my estimation) unsatisfactory. The following proposal notes a possible clue to the interpretation, as well as a unique occurrence of a common noun or adjective that offers a clue to the meaning of *ltpn*.

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[424] Ug. *ltpn* is always the first element of a construction, while *ṯr* occurs once in the second position (*il ṯr*, KTU 1.128:7) and may not even mean 'Bull'. All other El titles featuring *ṯr* ('Bull') as an element have it in the initial position.

[425] Ginsberg (1946: 29).

[426] Driver (1956: 42-3).

[427] Greenstein (1997: 36).

[428] Wyatt (1998: 232).

[429] Parker (1989: 188).

Column four of KTU 1.16 begins (after the loss of some 16 lines of text), with the conclusion of what appears to be a conversation between two gods in the divine assembly. Various gods have been suggested, with El and Kothar the likely candidates.[430] It would appear that it is El who is speaking and blesses the unnamed god with wisdom comparable with his own. The blessing is a bicolon, with each part completely balanced, and in parallel with the corresponding member of both lines. Thus the following translation may be offered:

KTU 1.16:iv:1-2

[... wyʿn] *il*	[And] El [replied],
šmʿ amrk ×××	'Listen, I shall bless you [DN]:
k il ḫkmt	Like El, you are wise,
k ṯr l̩ṭp[n]	as Bull, percept[ive]'.

We have here, then, a description of El blessing, or strengthening (*mr*) a god, possibly Kothar, with words which bestow upon him, or identify as qualities that he possesses, *ḫkm* and *l̩ṭpn*. Both *ḫkm* and *l̩ṭpn* are otherwise associated with El, to the exclusion of all other gods. If the god thus blessed is indeed Kothar, this would be an entirely appropriate description for the craftsman god.[431] Finally, although here *l̩ṭpn* is not an epithet of El, its parallelism with *ḫkm* surely offers firm evidence that the semantic nuance of *l̩ṭpn* is, rather, one of 'mental acuity than kindness'.[432]

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[430] Margalit (1995: 290f.).

[431] See Lipiński (1988) who discussed the similarities between Ea, Enki, El and Kothar, all of whom are famous for their wisdom.

[432] Healey (1998: 350).

As I have shown, the epithets and titles applied to El in the Ugaritic texts seem to be concerned primarily with his role as father of the gods. His position as head of the pantheon is highlighted by the title 'King', a role he performs with wisdom and perception. There is no indication that he is marginalized in any way, for apart from *mlk*, none of his epithets or titles are employed to describe Baal or any of the other gods. There is also evidence here and in other Semitic traditions that El was a warrior god, although in the texts we have recovered thus far from Ugarit do not extol this characteristic.

CHAPTER THREE

Titles and Epithets of El in the Hebrew Bible

While all the occurrences of *ʾl*, *ʾlh* and *ʾlhym* in the Hebrew Bible are without doubt references to Yahweh, it is distinctly possible that some of the epithets and titles attributed to Yahweh that use the word *ʾl*, derive from those used to designate El, who was worshipped all over the Levant from the MBA at the latest,[1] until the early centuries of our era, as evinced by OSA inscriptions and personal names. In this chapter we shall discuss those combinations that are likely epithets that once belonged to El, as well as those that have long been thought to refer to El, but which can now be shown to be not the case.[2] Phrases that merely describe the deity (either El or Yahweh) and use the word *ʾl* have been left out due to considerations of space and relevance.

ʾb

Given the frequency with which El is called 'father' at Ugarit, it is a surprise to find that the use of *ʾb* in combination with *ʾl* in the Hebrew Bible is quite rare, occurring two,[3] possibly three times,[4] in the phrase *ʾl ʾbyk*, which is commonly

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1 See here the evidence provided by Pope (1955), Huffmon (1965), Roberts (1972) and Cross (1973).

2 For a list of all the occurrences of the DN *ʾl* in the Hebrew Bible, see chapter one.

3 Gen. 46:3; 49:25.

4 Isa. 9:5.

understood to be the appellative *ʾl* in construct with *ʾb* and having the meaning 'god of your father',[5] although the reason for this translation is never discussed.[6] De Moor suggested the translation 'El of your father', which although grammatically possible in the light of the finds at Kuntillet ʿAjrud (see chapter 13), seems odd.[7] The phrase has also been understood to be appositional with the meaning 'El your father' in the light of the many references to El as 'father' in the Ugaritic literary texts.[8] Here we shall look at the three biblical passages that appear to describe El as 'father'.

Gen. 46:3, *ʾnky hʾl ʾlhy ʾbyk*. This phrase may be translated in the following ways (although the following examples do not exhaust the possibilities): 'I am El/(the) God, the God of your father' or, 'it is I, El/(the) God (who is?) the god of your father'.[9] The Hebrew construction *ʾnky h-* (def. art.), followed by a noun/PN,[10] gentilic,[11] or participle,[12] occurs relatively rarely,[13] and is worthy of brief discussion, particularly in the light of the phrases *ʾny ʾl šdy* and *ʾl ʾnky*.[14] The phrase *ʾnky hʾl* occurs only twice (here and

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5 See, e.g., Cross and Freedman (1950: 75); Westermann (1982: 248, 272-3).

6 De Hoop (1999: 205, n. 796).

7 De Moor (1990: 234).

8 See my discussion of Ug. *ab* in the previous chapter.

9 The d. art. before *ʾl* is problematic if we see here a DN. The various translations (e.g. KJV, JB, JPS) appear to understand *ʾnky h-*, as having some sort of intensive sense, but there does not appear to be any further examples of this that I can find to support such a possibility. The LXX omits *hʾl*, whereas the Vulgate attempts to understand *hʾl* as being derived from √*ʾyl*, 'to be strong' (*Fortissimus*), which suggests that the passage has long been considered difficult to understand.

10 Gen. 31:13 (*ʾnky hʾl byt-ʾl*); 46:3 (see above); 1 Sam. 9:19 (*ʾnky hrʾh*, 'I am the Seer'). The construction *ʾnky hywm*, 'I, this day...', indicates: old age (Deut. 31:2; Josh. 14:10; 2 Sam. 19:36); the youngest (Ju. 6:15); weakness — through grief at Abner's death (2 Sam. 3:39).

11 1 Sam. 17:8 (*ʾnky hplšty*, 'I am the Philistine').

12 1 Sam. 4:16 (*ʾnky hbʾ*, 'I am the one who came'); Jer. 29:23 (*ʾnky hwydʿ*, 'It is I who knows').

13 × 11: + noun (× 8, although 2 may be the PN *ʾl*); + gentilic (× 1); + ptcpl. (× 2).

14 Gen. 17:1 and Hos. 11:9, respectively. The passage quoted from Hosea is not a reference to El: *ky ʾl ʾnky wlʾ ʾyš*, 'for I am divine, not human'.

in the declaration *ʾnky hʾl byt-ʾl*, 'I am the god of Bethel')[15] and, when compared with the other occurrences of the 1.p.s. personal pronoun followed by the d. art., suggests that *ʾl* in our passage above is appellative, 'the god (who is) the god of your father'.[16]

ʾbyk in the second passage for discussion seems best understood as a reference to El:[17]

Gen. 49:25

mʾl ʾbyk wyʿzrk	By El your father, who will help you,
wʾt šdy wybrkk	and El[18] Shadday, who will bless you
brkt šmym mʿl	(with) blessings of the skies above,
brkt thwm rbṣt tḥt	blessings of the deeps resting below,
brkt šdym wrḥm	blessings of breasts and of womb.

This passage seems reminiscent of the theogony found in Philo of Byblos, although it may be going too far to make such a conclusion. The language here is also similar to what we find in some treaties and incantations[19] and perhaps the reference to breasts and womb indicates Asherah,[20] given that immediately following this phrase we find another reference to 'father', perhaps El once more.[21] It is worth noting that the description of El as the father who blesses

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15 Gen. 31:13. The possibility that *byt-ʾl* may be an epithet of El is very slight, restricted to two passages (Gen. 31:13; 35:7). The deity Bethel is attested over most of the Levant and appears most frequently in the Aramaic texts from Elephantine during the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, which suggests that the deity was popular amongst Aramaic-speaking peoples.

16 See Cross and Freedman (1950/1997: 75, 91, n. 98).

17 Vawter (1955: 12); Wyatt (1978); Freedman (1980: 86, 112); Smith (1990: 16f.); De Moor (1995a: 19).

18 See my note on the object marker *ʾt* in my discussion of *ʾl šdy* below.

19 E.g. treaty: KAI 222; incantation AT 1 (discussed below in chapter eight). Both texts evidence knowledge of El-religion.

20 Cf. KTU 1.15:ii:27; KTU 1.23:24, 59, 61. See Lutzky (1998: 24, n. 34).

21 Gen. 49:26.

(or strengthens) is very close to what we find in both *Keret* and *Aqhat* at Ugarit. While the interpretation 'god of your father' is possible, it seems more likely that it is 'El your father' that should be read here.

Our third and final passage features the phrase *ʾbyʿd* (or *ʾby ʿd*), 'eternal father' in the cluster of epithets attributed to the newly born child in Isaiah:

Isa. 9:5b

wyqrʾ šmw	And he will be called:
plʾ ywʿṣ ʾl gbwr	Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty Warrior,
ʾbyʿd śr-šlwm	Eternal Father, Prince of Peace.

These descriptions sound similar to the descriptions of El from Ugarit that we discussed in the previous chapter, although the vocabulary is slightly different. This may be due to the poet's desire to evoke titles of El (parody?) rather than explicitly use them. El's wisdom is celebrated in Ugaritic poetry and it is in connection with his skills as a counsellor that we find such a statement,[22] although the word used is *ḥkm*. The word *plʾ* has the general meaning of 'something unusual' and is used with deity as subject nine times out of its 14 occurrences in BH.[23] It appears in passages that refer to the divine council in words similar to those we find at Ugarit,[24] to Yahweh's raising the dead // Rephaim to praise him.[25] Yahweh is the god who works *plʾ*, which is also described as *mqdm*[26] and, finally, *plʾ* is the word used to describe his actions in

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22 KTU 1.4:iv:40ff. and v:4-5.

23 The by-form *plh* is just as rare (× 5) and is used to describe things differentiated, cf. Ex. 8:18; 9:4; 11:7; 33:16; Ps. 4:4.

24 Ex. 15:11; Ps. 89:6. See also Ps. 77:12-15 (esp. v. 14).

25 Ps. 88:11-13. In v. 13 we read that Yahweh's *plʾ* also takes place in the *ḥšk* of the underworld. The Rephaim may be the underworld counterparts of the celestial council of divinites.

26 Ps. 77:12-15.

Zoan in the land of Egypt.[27] In Job, we find the following use of *plʾ* that may cause one to think of El and his Ugaritic title *ltpn il dpid*. The passage also evokes the image of the deity (El?) as judge, perhaps in the divine council:

Job 11:6

wygd-lk tʿlmwt ḥkmh	And he made known to you the secrets of wisdom,
ky kplym ltwšyh	indeed, even the marvels[28] of perception,
wdʿ ky-yšh lk ʾlwh mʿwnk	so know that *ʾelôha* misplaces (from the knowledge) of your transgressions.[29]

It would appear that, although the phrase *plʾ ywʿṣ* is perhaps a creation of the poet, the use of the rare word *plʾ* seems to betray knowledge of the traditions from Ugarit concerning El's great wisdom — although the only use of *ply* (the Ugaritic form of this root) at Ugarit is in the description of Baal's head: *rišh tply*, 'his head is magnificent'.[30] The phrase *ʾl gbwr* is quite straight forward and, although we find only hints of El's role as divine warrior at Ugarit,[31] El, as he is described by Philo of Byblos and plaster inscription D 3 from Kuntillet ʿAjrud (both discussed below), while not employing the title 'Warrior'

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27 Ps. 78:12.

28 Heb. *kplym* is here understood as deriving from *plʾ*, although it may well derive from *kpl*, 'to fold, double over', which is also an attractive word in the context of the manipulation of wisdom.

29 I have attempted a translation that uses the overall image of knowledge. The last line reads literally, 'and know! That *ʾelôha* causes forgettfulness for you from your mistakes'.

30 Wyatt (1998: 389). In Genesis 49:26, Joseph's head is described as being set apart from his brothers', although the word used is *nzyr*, rather than *plh*. Pope and Tigay (*UF* 3 [1971]: 124ff), cited in *DLU*, 350, suggested that this was a description of Baal wearing a phylactery.

31 We do have the epithet *ġzr*, 'hero', in Ugaritic (discussed above in chapter three), which

explicitly, certainly describe him as one. In this light, it may be possible to translate *ʾl gbwr* as 'Divine Warrior'. El as 'Eternal Father' may be found in Baal's statement, *k qnyn ʿl*[m], 'like our eternal creator',[32] although this restoration is not secure.[33] The title Prince of Peace has no parallel El title, unless we think of the benefits Athirat says his wisdom brings: *ḫyt ḫṯt*, 'a life of good fortune'.[34]

ʾbyr

Derived from the root *ʾbr* (I 'to be strong'; II 'penis, member'), *ʾbyr* occurs eight times in the Hebrew Bible as a designation of divinty: six times in the formula *ʾbyr yʿqb*, 'Bull/Strong/Mighty One of Jacob',[35] once in the construction *ʾbyr yśrʾl*, 'Bull/Strong/Mighty One of Israel',[36] and once also in the phrase *lḥm ʾbyrym*, 'divine food(?)', in which the plural form seems to indicate divine beings.[37] A cognate is found in Akkadian with the meaning 'strong' and is used to describe deities,[38] as is the case in Ugaritic, where it occurs as a simile.[39] The personal name *ʾbrbʿl*, Baal is the Bull/Strong One' is attested in Punic.[40] De Hoop doubted that *ʾbyr*, in the Isaiah passages in particular, should be

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describes El's warrior nature.

32 KTU 1.10:iii:5.

33 See Caquot (1974: 286); de Moor (1987: 114). Cf. Wyatt (1998: 158, n. 15) for an alternative restoration and interpretation.

34 KTU 1.4:iv:42-43. It is interesting that this phrase precedes the permission for Baal to build a palacewhere he may reside as king of the gods and the context of our Isaianic passage.

35 Gen. 49:24; Isa. 49:26; 60:16; Ps. 132:2, 5.

36 Isa. 1:24.

37 Ps. 78:25. Cf. Ps. 105:40 (*lḥm šmym*).

38 See *CDA*, 2 (*abāru* II); 3 (*abru* I). *CAD* A/1, 38: *dandannu qitrudu bēl abāri*, '(Nergal) almighty one, warrior, endowed with strength'.

39 See here KTU 1.12:i:32; ii:55.

40 *CIS* 1, 1886. The element *ibr* occurs in Ugaritic PNs (*ibrd*, *ib/wrḏr*, *ibrkyṯ*, *ibrm*, *ib/wrmḏ*, *ibrn*, *ibrtlm*, *ib/wryn*), but it is unsure if this is our root or a derivation from Hurrian *ib/wr*, 'Lord'. See *DLU*, 6-7.

translated as 'Bull'.[41] He preferred the translation 'Mighty One' and noted that 'in Ugarit *ibr*, "bull" is nowhere used as an epithet for a deity'.[42] The meaning 'bull' for Hebrew *ʾbyr* is perhaps metaphorical, deriving from the primary meaning of the root, 'to be strong' and, as De Hoop suspected, is perhaps behind the meaning of the epithet in Hebrew. Freedman suggested that *ʾbyr* can mean '"Mighty One" ... or "Champion," (it) is more literally "Bull"'. He compared the 'Canaanite' epithet of El from Ugarit (*tr*) and noted the use of *ʾbyr* 'in the royal, possibly Davidic Psalm 132 (vss. 2 and 5) ... presumably ... adopted by the early monarchy'.[43] This is interesting, given that *tr* as an epithet of El at Ugarit is associated with his role as father, but it should also be noted that he is also called 'Hero' (*ġzr*, i.e. 'Champion'), so the epithet *ʾbyr*, if it does designate El, is not particularly illuminating. Until we find further uses of this epithet in West Semitic texts no conclusion may be reached regarding the meaning of this epithet or whether or not it describes El. It is safer to assume that the Hebrew texts refer to Yahweh as 'Champion' or 'Mighty One'.

bryt

Judges 9:46 is the only occasion in *Judges* where we find the word *ʾl*, albeit indirectly, by reference to the temple of El Berit (*byt ʾl bryt*) in Migdal-Shechem. Shechem is earlier reported as having a temple dedicated to Baal Berit,[44] the god reportedly adopted by the Israelites after the death of Gideon-

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41 Cross (1973: 4, n. 6) favoured the meaning 'Bull', as did Løkkegaard (1953: 222), Freedman (1980: 86-7), Curtis (1990: 27-8).

42 De Hoop (1999: 196-7 and esp. n. 740). But note the Akkadian evidence in the footnote above.

43 Freedman (1976: 64-5).

44 Ju. 9:4. Soggin proposed that the two deities *bʿl bryt* and *ʾl bryt* were each attached to one of the two temples at Shechem. For an opposing view, see Clements (1968: 26, n. 3).

Jerubbaal.[45] The temple of El Berit had an underground chamber (*ṣryḥ*)[46] into which the 'lords', or 'owners'[47] (*bʿly*) and the people (*ʾnšy*)[48] of Migdal-Shechem retreated and perished during Abimelech's attack.[49]

How are we to understand the phrase El Berit? It occurs once only and has been associated with the similar *bʿl bryt*. However, it should be noted that, apart from the reference to a *byt bʿl bryt*, 'temple of Baal Berit', in Shechem, we have no real means of determining whether the temple of Baal Berit or that of El Berit have any or no connection to each other.[50] Although El is known as *bʿl* in Phoenicio-Punic religion, we cannot be certain that *bʿl bryt* has any connection with *ʾl bryt*,[51] as may be suggested by the use of the term *bʿly bryt* to describe Abram's allies.[52] Further evidence for reverence of a 'god' or 'lord' of the covenant may be found in the reference to Shechemites as *bny ḥmr*,[53] or *ʾnšy ḥmr*,[54] which may be interpreted as 'sons/men of the ass/donkey' (the sacrificial animal used in treaties), although the terms may be patronymic. The phrase *ʾl bryt*, may be understood to mean 'god of the covenant' and refer to any god, with Mithra and Horon already suggested as candidates,[55] as well as Baal, in the light of the phrase *bʿl bryt* noted above.[56] That El played a role in

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45 Ju. 8:33.

46 Ju. 9:46.

47 See here Lewis (1996a: 413, n. 70), who 'wondered about 'the relevence of the repeated reference in Judges 9 to the "*baʿălê šĕkem*" (9:2, 3, 20, 46, 51)'.

48 In Ju. 9:49, *ʾnšy*, 'people', is specified by the approximate number of males and females who perished in the fire (*bʾlp ʾyš wʾyšh*).

49 Ju. 9:42-49.

50 Good ('Baal', *HBD*, 84); Ringgren (*Israelite Religion*, 42, n. 6), both cited in Lewis (1996a: 402, n. 8).

51 E.g. *bʿl ḥmn*. See chapter six below.

52 Gen. 14:13.

53 Gen. 33:19; Josh. 24:32.

54 Ju. 9:28.

55 Lewis (1996a: 402).

56 It has been noted that personal names formed with the DN *bʿl* have been found at Shechem

covenant treaties is found in the Aramaic inscription from Sefire (KAI 222).

The common opinion amongst Hebrew scholars is that DNs do not occur in a construct relationship, therefore we should understand *ʾl* as an appellative designation, 'god of the covenant', which yields good sense. However, inscriptional evidence from the ninth century BCE site at Kuntillet ʿAjrud does not agree with scholars in this respect, with the acceptance by many that the phrases *yhwh šmrn* and *yhwh tmn* are best understood as construct phrases which include a divine name: Yahweh of Samaria and Yahweh of Teman.[57]

Whilst the possibility remains that we may understand the phrase *byt ʾl bryt* to mean quite simply 'the temple of the god of the covenant'. The mention of the *byt bʿl bryt* in Shechem,[58] coupled with the apparent reference to Israelite adoption of Baal Berit as a god after the death of Gideon,[59] suggests the possibility that the Israelites merely followed the common Syro-Phoenician tradition of invoking

Although there is no evidence to support such a view, we may also posit an original (but now abbreviated) title, which may have read something like, *ʾl* (*ʾlhy*) *bryt*, 'El (god of the) covenant', comparable with similar titles given to El in the Hebrew Bible.[60] Alternatively we may interpret the final noun *bryt* as being in apposition with *ʾl*, giving us the divine name El, followed by a title, or at least an abbreviated titular phrase which identified an important function of the god at this site and therefore took on the value of a name which would yield the following translation: 'and they entered the underground chamber of El Berit'.

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57 See chapter 13 for discussion and references.

58 Ju. 9:4.

59 Ju. 8:33.

60 El was named god of Israel/Jacob (*ʾl ʾlhy yśrʾl*, Gen. 33:20) at Shechem, a site strongly identified with the concept of 'covenant'. In Gen. 46:3 El is called *ʾl ʾlhy ʾbyk*, 'El the god of your father' and in Nu. 16:22 he is given the title *ʾl ʾlhy hrwḥt lkl bśr*, 'El the god of the breath of all flesh(?)'.

In one of the Hurro-Ugaritic texts from Ugarit,[61] we find the intriguing sequence *ilbrt il dn*. Cross understood 'two ... epithets of ʾĒl' and translated these lines as 'God of the covenant' and 'El the Judge', and noted a possible connection with Ju. 9:46.[62] Dijkstra rejected any relationship with the biblical phrase *ʾl bryt*, and preferred a reference to the deity Ilabrat[63] in the syntagma *ilbrt*, whle he understood the phrase *il dn* to be a reference to El's unique power.[64] Unfortunately there is no attested use of the √*bry* (Heb. *brh*) in Ugaritic, much less the noun *brt*, 'covenant', while the epithet *dn*, 'judge', is never applied to El in any of the Ugarit texts.[65] There is, of course, the famous Ugaritic PN Danel (*dnil*), but the etymology of this name could just as plausibly be √*dnn*, 'strong' ('El strengthens'), which would accord with the literary context in which we encounter this name. Danel is 'strengthened' by El's gift of children.[66]

While we know that El was, as head of the divine council, the god to whom the other gods went for permission to act and that ultimately this would entail his overseeing of any agreement reached in such events, the only real evidence that El may have been 'contractually' tied to his word may be found in the phrase *npš yḥ ... brlt*,[67] which may indeed mean, 'By my life ... by my vitality'.[68] However, given the absence of the word *br*(*y*)*t* in Ugaritic, this is

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61 KTU 1.128:14-16. For a discussion of this text, see Dijkstra (1993: 157-62).

62 Cross (1973: 39).

63 Dijkstra (1993: 161). Ilabrat = Sum. Ninšubur, the SUKKAL (vizier) of Anu. In Akkadian tradition Ilabrat is a male deity, while Ninšubur is female in Sumerian.

64 Text and translation, Dijkstra (1993: 158).

65 The use of *zbl*, 'prince', in parallelism with *tpṭ*, 'judge, ruler', (used regularly of Yam in KTU 1.2-3) may indicate that a correlative existed for *mlk* which represented El's judicial capacity. But whether or not the term was *dn* is mere speculation. The common epithets we would expect to appear in parallel with *mlk* in Ugaritian descriptions of El are *ab*, 'father' and *ṯr*, 'bull' (see chapter three above).

66 KTU 1.17:i:34-35. Although here it must be noted that the verbs used are *brk* and *mrr*.

67 KTU 1.17:i:36

68 Wyatt (1998: 261, n. 45) plus references.

not evidence that the biblical phrase *ʾl bryt* refers to El, but should rather be understood to mean 'god of the covenant'.

**dn*

Goulder suggested that in Ps. 84:8, the difficult *ʾl-ʾlhym* should be read as *ʾl-dn*, 'God of Dan' and was followed by 'on Hermon', rather than 'in Zion' in MT, which would result in the reading:[69]

ylkw mḥyl ʾl-ḥyl	They go from place to place,[70]
yrʾh ʾl-dn bḥrmwn	to see El of Dan (or El the judge) on Hermon.

While this is an attractive proposal and offers an interpretation that is consonant with what we know about El, it must be tempered with the witness of the Greek and Syriac versions, which suggest we read either *ʾl* or *ʾlhym* alone. Unfortunately no firm conclusion may be made here regarding this phrase.

ḥy

The formula *ʾl-ḥy*, 'El/God lives' or, 'El/God is life' occurs three, perhaps four times in Biblical Hebrew,[71] *ʾlhym ḥy* four times[72] and *ʾlhym ḥyym* five times.[73]

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69 Goulder (1982: 37-50). For a different assessment, see Tate (1990: 356).

70 It is unclear what *ḥyl* means exactly.

71 Josh. 3:10; Hos. 2:1; Pss. 42:3, 9 (*ḥyy*); 84:3. The apparatus for Ps. 42:9 suggests we read *ḥy*.

72 2 Ki. 19:4, 16; Isa. 37:4, 17.

73 Deut. 5:26; 1 Sam. 17:26; 36; Jer. 10:10; 23:26.

There are no occurrences of *yhwh ḥy*. The oath-phrase *ḥy-ʾl*, 'as El lives', occurs once and will be discussed below.

In Josh. 3:10, at the beginning of the episode of the 'miracle at the Jordan',[74] Joshua informs the people: *tdʿwn ky ʾl ḥy bqrbkm*, which is normally translated as, 'you shall know that a living god is amongst you', but could equally mean, 'you will realize that El lives in your midst'.[75]

In Hosea 2:1, we find the unusual phrase *bny ʾl-ḥy*, 'sons of the living god' or even 'sons of El the Living One'. We possibly have one or two further occurrences in HB of *bny ʾl*. In Deut. 32:8, where MT reads *bny yśrʾl*, LXX reads ἀγγέλων θεοῦ and Qumran (4QDeut^{j}) *bny ʾl*, surely the original reading. Job 38:7, 'the celebration of the heavenly court at the completion of the earth's construction',[76] may have originally read *kwkby bqr // kl-bny ʾl*, rather than *ʾlhym*.[77] In both *bny ʾlym*[78] and *bny (h)ʾlhym*,[79] we have a reference to 'sons of (the) god(s)', which, at the very least, presupposes the kind of pantheon we find at Ugarit and perhaps points to an original **bny ʾl* or *bny ʾlm*.[80] The phrase *bny ʾl-ḥy*, may be a pious expansion of this description, describing Yahweh, and has no origin as an epithet of El.

The use of *ʾl ḥy* in Psalms 42 and 84 suggests that the phrase may be connected with the idea of the deity residing in his temple. As Macintosh noted about the use of *ʾl ḥy* in *Hosea*, it is perhaps true here also that 'the

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74 Josh. 3:7-4:24.

75 El (or God) is mentioned two more times in *Joshua*, once in the phrase *ʾl ʾlhym yhwh* (Josh. 22:22), which appears to equate El with both *elohim* and Yahweh, and also in the ambiguous statement *ʾl qnwʾ hw* (Josh. 24:19), which is reminiscent of Ug. *il* (*mlk d*) *yqnnh*.

76 Habel (1985: 537).

77 *kwkby bqr* corresponds to the *kwkby-ʾl* of Isa. 14:13 and which is also found in the Pyrgi Inscription as *hkkbm ʾl*, Cross (1973: 45).

78 Ex. 15:11; Pss. 29:1 and 89:7

79 Gen. 3:5; 6:4; Job 1:6; 38:7 (perhaps originally *bny ʾl*)

80 See Cross (1973: 45).

living god' denotes Yahweh as (the only?) god who lives in his temple amongst his people and, naturally, as king.[81] Interestingly de Moor wrote that El (Yahweh) as a living god is emphasized in the South in direct contrast with Baal who was a dying god.[82]

The oath statement *ḥy-ʾl*, 'as El/God lives', or 'by the life of El/God' is attested once.[83] It is comparable with the Yahwistic equivalent *ḥy yhwh*, which occurs in HB some 41 times[84] and twice in Extrabiblical Hebrew.[85] Variations of this oath include *ḥy yhwh ʾlhy yśrʾl*, 'as Yahweh the God of Israel lives',[86] *ḥy yhwh ʾlhyk*, 'as Yahweh your God lives',[87] *ḥy ʾdny yhwh*, 'as my Lord Yahweh lives',[88] *ḥy hʾlhym*, 'as *elohim* lives',[89] as well as numerous instances where the deity begins an oath or threat with *ḥy-ʾny*, 'as I live',[90] all of which are commonly used as an introductory formula for an oath.[91] Worthy of note also is the toponym Beer Lahai Roi (*bʾr lḥy rʾy*), which appears to refer to a deity known as 'the Living One'.[92]

The phrase, *ḥy ʾl*, is not an epithet of El, but an oath made by Job with the simple meaning that El is the god who will mete out any retribution should the oath maker break his vow: 'as El lives, if I lie, then may I lose my life':

Job 27:2-4

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81 Macintosh (1997: 36). Cf. Jer. 10:10.

82 de Moor (1990: 253).

83 Job 27:2.

84 E.g. Ju. 8:19; 1 Sam. 14:39, 45; 19:6; 20:3, 21 etc.

85 Lachish, Ostr. 3 (KAI 193):9, *ḥy yhwh* and Ostr. 6 (KAI 196):12-13, *ḥy. yhwh ʾlhyk*.

86 1 Sam. 25:34; 1 Ki. 17:1.

87 1 Ki. 17:12; 18:10.

88 Jer. 44:26.

89 2 Sam. 2:27.

90 23 times, e.g. Nu. 14:21, 28; Isa. 49:18; Jer. 22:24; 46:18; Ezek. 5:11; 14:16, 18, 20 etc.

91 Habel (1985: 379).

92 Gen. 16:14; 24:62; 25:11.

ḥy-ʾl hsyr mšpṭy	As El lives! Who has deprived me of litigation,
wšdy hmr npšy	and (as) Shaddai (lives), who has embittered my soul,
ky-kl-ᶜwd nšmty by	As long as the breath of life is in me,
wrwḥ ʾlwh bʾpy	and the spirit of God is in my nostrils,
ʾm-tdbrnh špty ᶜwlh	My lips will speak no deceit,
wlšwny ʾm-yhgh rmyh	and my tongue utter no falsehood.

Job's oath (*ḥy-ʾl*) is placed in parallelism with Shaddai: *ḥy-ʾl // šdy*, which would suggest that the verb *ḥyh* is performing double duty, 'as El lives // as Shaddai lives' or, alternatively, the statement concerning Job's inability to press his case with God (*hsyr mšpṭy*) in the first colon is parenthetical, with the oath reading **ḥy ʾl šdy*, 'as El Shaddai lives'. Either option is possible, but neither suggests that *ḥy* is here used as an appellation of El.

ᶜwlm

The construction *ʾl ᶜwlm* is found once in the passage recounting Abraham's planting of a tamarisk at Beersheba ('Well of seven' or, 'Well of the oath'), apparently in commemoration of the conclusion of the pact (*bryt*) concluded between Abraham and Abimelek, king of Gerar, itself one of two aetiologies for the place-name Beersheba:[93]

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[93] Gen. 21:22-34. For the second aetiology, which duplicates the Abraham episode but attributes the naming of the site to Isaac, see Gen. 26:33. Beersheba was the southernmost extreme of Israelite territory, as we find in the phrase 'from Dan to Beersheba' (e.g. Ju. 20:1; 1 Sam. 3:20).

Gen. 21:33

wyṭ⁶ ʾšl bbʾr šb⁶ wyqrʾ-šm bšm yhwh ʾl ʿwlm

He (Abraham) planted a tamarisk[94] at Beersheba and there invoked the name of Yahweh,[95] the everlasting god.

This is the only occurrence in the Hebrew Bible of the phrase *ʾl ʿwlm*, which may be a title of El, as has been suggested.[96] But *ʾl ʿwlm* may be interpreted in various ways: 'El, the Eternal One', 'the everlasting god'. or 'the god Olam'. If such a phrase were an epithet of El, one would expect *ʿlm* to feature in personal names.[97] However, the fact that *ʿlm* is absent from the onomastica causes one to doubt whether *ʿlm* is indeed an epithet of El.

Cross[98] discussed the possibility that Heb. *ʿwlm* is used as an epithet of El, which has been subsequently transferred to Yahweh and is ultimately 'the source of Yahweh's epithets "the ancient one" or *ʿatîq yômîn*, "ancient of days"'.[99] He correctly observed that the decision over whether *ʿwlm* is an epithet of El must rest upon 'the basis of evidence other than that of the biblical formula itself'.[100] To support his view that *ʿwlm* is indeed an epithet of

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94 Tamarisks (*ʾšl*) were probably sacred trees, used to mark shrines, or sacred areas, as this passage suggests. See BDB, 79 and Skinner (1930: 327). The only other references to the tamarisk (*ʾšl*) are both connected with Saul and support the view that the tamarisk was associated with such sites. In the first passage (1 Sam. 22:6) we find Saul sitting (*ywšb*) under a tamarisk tree on the height (*brmh*) of Gibeah with a spear in his hand and all his courtiers in attendance. The second passage (1 Sam. 31:13) informs us that the bones of Saul and his sons were buried under the tamarisk tree in Jabesh.

95 The occurrence of the DN *yhwh* in the text is seen as secondary (Cross [1973: 46, n. 11]), possibly influenced by the formula *wyqrʾ bšm*, 'and he invoked the name', which occurs frequently with *yhwh* in biblical Hebrew. E.g. Gen. 12:8; 13:4; 16:13 (*qrʾ šm*).

96 Cross (1962: 236).

97 See however √*ḥlm* 2 Huffmon (1965: 195f.), discussed below.

98 Cross (1962: 236-41) and (1973: 50). Dahood (1966) found the DN *ʿwlm* in many Psalms (Pss. 24:7, 9; 52:11; 66:7; 73:12; 75:10; 89:3). However, these have all been subsequently shown to be misidentifications.

99 Dan. 7:9, 13, etc.

100 Cross (1962: 236).

El, Cross offered impressive evidence from different sources, which has been widely accepted,[101] but which must now be reviewed here in the light of further discoveries and subsequent scholarship.[102]

Cross compared Hebrew *mlk ʿwlm*, 'ancient or eternal king' (attributed to Yahweh in Jeremiah),[103] with Ug. *mlk ab šnm*, 'king, father of years'[104] and included later Ug. *mlk ʿlm*.[105] He observed that while 'one suspects that an old epithet is used here in Jeremiah, ... the question must remain open'.[106] However, as I have discussed above, *ab šnm* means, 'Father of the Bright One' (see my discussion of *ab šnm* in my chapter on Ugarit), so such a comparison may no longer be made in support of Cross' view. Ugaritic *mlk ʿlm*[107] has been shown to be an epithet of Rapiu, rather than El[108]: *rpu mlk ʿlm*, 'Rapiu, King of Eternity/the Underworld'.[109] The best parallel to Jeremiah's *mlk ʿlm* comes from Ugaritic courtly language used to describe the Egyptian pharaoh as *mlk ʿlm*,[110] which may be compared with *špš ʿlm*, 'Eternal Sun'.[111] Although *ʿlm*

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101 See Dijkstra (1987a: 249) for bibliography.

102 All of the evidence discussed is from Cross (1962: 236-41) and with minor revisions and additions (1973: 50).

103 Jer. 10:10.

104 Cross (1962: 236).

105 KTU 1.108:1, etc. See Cross (1973: 50). Albright (1939: 8, n. 16) made much the same conclusion when he compared the title *ʾlt ʿlm ʾšr(t)*, 'the goddess of eternity Asher(at?)', in the Arslan Tash Amulet (no. 1: 9-10) with El's title *ab šnm*, which he understood to mean 'Father of Years'. We now interpret the Arslan Tash phrase differently: 'an eternal oath/covenant (*ʾlt ʿlm*). Aššur...'.

106 Cross (1962: 236).

107 KTU 1.108:1, 12-13 (*mlk* [ʿlm])?, [19f.], 21, 22.

108 L'Heureux (1979: 171).

109 Cooper (1987: 17); Pardee (1988: 89-91).

110 Amenophis iii is called *mlk ʿlm* in KTU 2.42:9.

111 KTU 2.42:7. In the Karatepe Inscription (KAI 26 A:iii:19) the sun god is called *šmš ʿlm*. See Lipiński (1978: 243). Cross (1962: 237, n. 52) drew attention to the name ΣΕΜΕΣΙΑΑΜ, which occurs in Greek magical papyri (*PGM* ii, 169/70; iv, 591, 1805; v, 351, 366, etc.).

never occurs in Ugaritic as an epithet of El, it is used to describe El's wisdom in the following passage:[112]

KTU 1.4:iv:41-43

tḫmk il ḥkm	Your word, El, is wise.
ḥkmt ʿm ʿlm	Your wisdom is eternal.
ḥyt ḥẓt tḫmk	A life of good fortune, your word.[113]

Cross' conviction that a Proto-Sinaitic inscription from approximately the 15th century BCE preserved the epithet *ʾl ḏ ʿlm*, 'El (god) of eternity'[114] has been shown to be incorrect. Rainey, who examined the inscription *in situ*, offered an alternative reading: *ʾdn ḏ ʿlm*, 'Lord of Eternity',[115] while Dijkstra offered what seems to be the most plausible interpretation:

Sinai 358

]*n*[g]*d. pʿl m*[lk],

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[112] Worthy of note is the obscure *qra ṯr ʿllmn* 'Invoked is Thar the Eternal One'? (KTU 1.161:7), but it is uncertain what this means and appears to be the name of a divinized ancestor, unless it indicates El as the founding ancestor of the dynasty of Ditan (*qbṣ ddn*), the first of the Rephaim.

[113] This wisdom is also associated with old age in KTU 1.4:v:3-5, which indeed confirms El's great age, but does not automatically mean that *ʿlm* must be therefore an epithet of El:

rbt ilm lḫkmt	You are great, O El, truly you are wise.
šbt dqnk ltsrk	The greyness of your beard surely instructs you,
rḫ nt dt lirtk	the pleasing knowledge which is in your chest.

Translation, Watson (2001)

Cross (1973: 15), amongst others, found an occurrence of *ʿlm* as an epithet in KTU 1.10:iii:5-6 *k qnyn ʿlm / k drd‹r› dyknn*, 'Indeed our Creator is eter[nal] / indeed ageless he who formed us'. For a different interpretation of this passage, see Lloyd (1994: 263).

[114] Sinai 358, Cross (1962: 236).

[115] Rainey (1975: 114ff., and pl. 11.8) and (1981: 92-4), who compared the epithets of Ptaḥ *nb nḥḥ* and *nb ḏt*.

'[PN], Overseer of the works/labourers of the k[ing]'.[116]

In his discussion of *ʿôlam*, Cross wrote: 'in the Arslan Tash incantation we found *ʿôlam* both as an epithet of ʾĒl and applied to "ancient earth", *ʾarṣ ʿôlam*'.[117] He offered the following translatation of the relevant lines:

The Eternal One has made a covenant oath with us,
Asherah has made (a pact) with us,
And all the sons of El,
And the great of the council of all the Holy Ones,
With oaths of Heaven and Ancient Earth.[118]

AT 1:9-14

Cross and Saley's interpretation of the text understood the epithet *ʿlm* as a reference to El, 'who appears first, in parallelism with Asherah'.[119] A recent study of the incantation by Pardee, however, has suggested the following textual arrangement and interpretation of the same lines:

'On a fait pour nous une alliance éternelle.
Ašur (lui-même l')a faite pour nous
aussi bien que tous les fils des dieux
et les (plus) grands de l'assemblée de tous nos saints (dieux)'
et (c'est) une alliance de (= avec) les cieux et la terre ⌜??⌝

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[116] Dijkstra (1987a: 249-50). Dijkstra also examined the inscription *in situ* and noted Egyptian and Hebrew counterparts of this title (1987a: 250, n. 8): Eg. *imy-r-kȝt*, 'officer of works' (Sinai 182:1; 200:2; 231:A:1); *imy-r-mšʿ*, officer of troops (of workmen)' (Sinai 56; 85:W:1 etc.); Heb. *rb pʿlym* (2 Sam. 23:20).

[117] Cross (1973: 50). For the text, see chapter seven below.

[118] Text and translation, Cross and Saley (1970: 44f.); Cross (1973: 17f.).

[119] Cross and Saley (1970: 45, n. 15).

[à] jamais ...'.[120]

AT 1:9-14

Here both El and Asherah have vanished, to be replaced by the Assyrian god Aššur — which is only to be expected in such a document. The divine name *ʾl* probably does occur in this text, in the phrase *bn ilm*, 'Sons of El', reading an enclitic *-m*,[121] but *ʿlm* certainly does not describe El, but rather the length of the pact between *Ssm bn Pdrššʾ* and the god Aššur and, later, the possibility of a thing never happening.

Cross identifed *ʿwlm* as a DN[122] in Deut. 33:27, the list of towns that Shishak claimed to have conquered and also as Ουλωμος found in Greek versions of Phoenician cosmogonies.[123]

Deut. 33:26-27a is part of the blessing of Jeshurun by Moses[124] and already mentions El in the opening phrase:

ʾyn kʾl yšrwn	There is no one like El, O Jeshurun.
rkb šmym bʿzrk	Riding the skies to your aid,
wbgʾwtw šḥqym	and in his majesty, the heavens.
mʿnh ʾlhy qdm	His[125] (Jeshurun's) hiding place is the god of old,
wmtḥt zrʿt ʿwlm	beneath everlasting arms.

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120 Pardee (1998: 18) read *bn ilm* as plural. For this inscription, see chapter seven below.

121 AT 1:11.

122 For *ʿwlm* as a DN in the Hebrew Bible, see Cross and Freedman (1948: 209, n. 85).

123 Ουλωμος, described as 'the intelligible god' (Damascius, *De primis principiis*, 125). See Barr (1974-75: 47f. esp. 48, n. 4). Cf. Αιων (and Πρωτογονος), found in Philo of Byblos (*P.E.* 1.10.9).

124 Deut. 33:26-29.

125 Reading with some Latin Mss **mʿnw* rather than MT's *mʿnh*. See Cross (1973: 48, n. 18).

Cross argued that in v. 27a, parallelism expects a divine name to follow *zrʿt*, 'arms' providing a parallel to the preceding *ʾlhy qdm*: 'His refuge is the God of old' // under him are the arms of the Ancient One'.[126] If Cross is correct, we would have, in the first half of this small poem, the following equation: *ʾl*, El, *ʾlhy qdm*, 'God of old', *ʿwlm*, 'Eternal One'. However, as is obvious from my translation above, I think the image is one of aid (*ʿzr*), with the deity providing shelter (*mʿn*) beneath his arms. The use of *ʿwlm* underscores the confidence that the deity will always be there in that capacity.[127] There is no reason to see *ʿwlm* as a divine name here. Further, his observation that the Latin epithets of Kronos of Gadir (*gerontis*), Saturnus of New Carthage (*senex*) and the African Saturnus (*saecul* [*frugifero*]), 'reproduce ʾĒl's appellation *ʿôlam*, "the Ancient One"',[128] must be tempered by the fact that these epithets are all extremely late and are most probably influenced by the popular Greek etymology for Kronos (χρόνος, 'time').

In a list of towns allegedly conquered by the tenth century BCE pharaoh Shishak (Sheshonq), we find as the 36th entry, the TN *bt ʿrm(m)*, which has been understood as being equivalent to Sem. *bt ʿlm*, 'Temple of Olam'.[129] No other explanation has been offered for this TN and it is, therefore — along with Ουλωμος, perhaps the only real evidence for the DN Olam.

At Emar, in texts from the 14th-13th century BCE, a god named ^{d}*ḫal-ma*[130] has been identified as '(the One of) Eternity' (WS **ʿalmu*/*ʿalamu*), perhaps a chthonic deity, but certainly one popular enough to be adopted into the Hittite

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126 Cross (1973: 48, n. 18).

127 Compare Ruth 3:9, where Ruth asks Boaz to wrap his cloak (*knp*) around her and then calls him Goel. Heb. *knp* can also mean wing and deities were believed to have wings. It is possible that Ruth is comparing Boaz with Yahweh and asking him for the same kind of protection described in Deut. 33:27.

128 Cross (1973: 25).

129 Cross (1962: 236).

130 Emar 287:6; 373:93; 378:12; 393:9; 446:95′.

pantheon.[131] Van der Toorn wondered whether 'the biblical theonym El-Olam is an attempt at domesticating this god by turning him into a manifestation of El',[132] but it seems unlikely. It is possible that the unexplained Amorite √*ḫlm*,[133] reflects the theonym ^{d}*ḫal-mu* and may derive from Akk. *ullûm*, 'distant (in time)'.[134] But *ʿlm* can also mean 'Savant, wise, knowing'[135] as well as '*Ewigger(?)*',[136] which recalls the El we know at Ugarit, whose wisdom is celebrated as either 'eternal' or 'ancient'.[137]

In conclusion, apart from the possible occurrence of *ʿlm* in the TN and as the DN written in Greek and mentioned above, there is no evidence to support Cross' view that *ʿlm* was ever an epithet of El, either at Ugarit or, for that matter, in the Hebrew Bible.

ʿlywn

The use of the adjective *ʿlywn* as an epithet of divinity in the Hebrew Bible is frequent, occurring some 31 times,[138] although three further attestations are

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131 Van der Toorn *DDD*², 313. This may indeed be the source of the god called Αἰών in Philo Byblos, but it should be noted that Phoenician does not attest a deity known as *ʿlm*, unless some occurrences of *ʾlm* (understood as *ʾl* + encl. *-m*) are to be understood as representing **ʿlm*.

132 Van der Toorn *DDD*², 313.

133 Huffmon (1965: 195f.). None of the names listed by Huffmon is compounded with *ʾl* (or AN): *Aḫ-la-mu* (apparently verbal: *ʾaqtal*); *Ḥa-al-mu-ú*; *Ḥa-al-ma-nu-um*; *Ḥa-al-ma-nim*; *Ḥa-al-ma-tum*, which strengthens the case for identifying the Amorite element *ḫa-al-mu* as a divine name. If this element is to be seen as verbal, perhaps we should see here a **√ḫlm/ʿlm*, 'to endure'.

134 *CDA*, 421.

135 Pope (1977: 179); Lewis (1989: 18).

136 Dietrich, Loretz and Samartín (1976: 50).

137 KTU 1.4:iv:41-43.

138 Gen. 14:18, 19, 20, 22; Nu. 24:16; Deut. 32:8; 2 Sam. 22:14 (= Ps. 18:14); Isa. 14:14; Pss. 7:18; 9:3; 21:8; 46:5; 47:3; 50:14; 57:3; 73:11; 77:11; 78:17, 35, 56; 82:6; 83:19; 87:5; 91:1, 9; 92:2; 97:9; 107:11; Lam. 3:35, 38; Dan. 7:18, 22, 25, 27 (*ʿlywnyn*).

possible.[139] The form *ʿl* should also be included.[140] The epithet *ʿlywn* occurs in combination and parallelism with *ʾl*,[141] *ʾlhym*[142] and *yhwh*.[143] The epithet *šdy* is found twice in parallel.[144] On its own, there is possibly some justification for seeing here a DN.[145]

Derived from the common Semitic root *ʿlh*, 'to ascend'[146] it may be best described as an adjective, or better superlative, 'most high', denoting the bearer's status with respect to others. Applied to El, or Yahweh, in the Hebrew Bible, the indisputable evidence for its application to El is restricted to South Semitic inscriptions.

In Ugaritic, *ʿly* is parallel with the DN *bʿl*, and is obviously one of his epithets.[147] There are no occasions where El is referred to by this epithet. It is more than likely that Baal is called *ʿly* to denote his exalted position amongst the *bn il*. In one other text it appears to be used to describe other gods or even humans as 'the exalted ones', but the end of the word is damaged making any

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139 Deut. 33:12 (*ʿlyw* = *ʿlywn*, // *yhwh*); Ps. 106:7 (*ʿl-ym* = *ʿlywn*); 1 Sam. 2:10 (*ʿlw* = *ʿlyw* = *ʿlywn*)

140 2 Sam. 23:1.

141 × 12 in 8 passages. *ʾl ʿlywn*: Gen. 14:18, 19, 20, 22; Ps. 78:35 (// *ʾlhym*); *ʾl* // *ʿlywn*: Isa. 14:13-14; Ps. 73: 11; 77:10-11; 107:11; *ʿlywn* // *ʾl*: Ps. 78:17-18; Deut. 32:8 (cf. LXX, Pesh. Gen.Apoc.); *ʾl* // *ʿlywn* // *šdy*: Nu. 24:16.

142 × 5 in 4 passages. *ʾlhym ʿlywn*: Ps. 57:3; 78:56; *ʾlhym* // *ʿlywn*: Ps. 46:5; 50:14; 78:35 (// *ʾl ʿlywn*).

143 × 11 in 10 passages. *yhwh ʿlywn*: Ps. 47:3; 7:18 (*šm yhwh ʿlywn*); *yhwh ʿlywn ʿl-kl-hʾrṣ*: Ps. 83:19; 97:9 (// *nʿlyt ʿl-kl-ʾlhym*); *ʿlywn* // *yhwh*: Ps. 87:5-6; *yhwh* // *ʿlywn*: 2 Sam. 22:14(= Ps. 18:14); Ps. 9:2-3; 21:8; 91:9; 92:2; + Deut. 33:12?

144 2 passages. *ʾl* // *ʿlywn* // *šdy*: Nu. 24:16; *ʿlywn* // *šdy*: Ps. 91:1.

145 × 3 in 2 passages. *ʿlywn*: Lam. 3:35, 38 (*pny ʿlywn*); Ps. 82:6 (*bny ʿlywn*); + Ps. 106:7?; 1 Sam. 2:10?

146 Cf. Eblaite (AN.ŠÈ = *a-i-lum*) and in Akkadian *a/elû(m)*, is used of deity, with *alû* used to refer to the bull of heaven (MUL.GU$_4$.AN.NA), or an evil demon (U$_{18}$.LU), although the second example is thought to be derived from Sumerian (*CDA*, 13, 71). Further, the logogram AN, 'heaven', describes the idea of something 'uppermost' and is used to write the DN El in Amorite PNs.

147 KTU 1.16:iii:6, 8. Note also Ug. syll. cf. A.Š[À.ḪI.A] ^{d}*a(?)-li-yi* (PRU 6, 55:4′).

restoration nothing more than reasonable conjecture.[148] Note also the Ugaritic personal names *adʿl*,[149] *yrmʿl*,[150] may attest to Elyon as a title of El at Ugarit, although, it must be admitted that Baal may well be the deity referred to.[151]

In the Aramaic inscription from Sefire, we read of *ʾl wʿlywn*.[152] This has sometimes been understood as referring to two distinct deities: El and Elyon, who is named in Philo Byblos as an ancestor of El and is perhaps recalled in the Hebrew Bible.[153] The use of the preposition *qdm* before each of the deities listed and the appearance in this inscription of a similar formula to that find in Ugaritic (DN *w* DN), suggests that we read *ʿlywn* as an alternate of El.[154] It should be stressed, however, that in the Sefire inscription, the formula is actually mDN *w* fDN, denoting a divine couple. This arrangement is also found in Ugaritic, but we have there also the pattern DN *w* DN meaning one god. Phoenician attests the root *ʿly*, but, apart from the evidence of Philo Byblos (cited above), no deity is called **ʿlyn*. The OSA epithet *ʿly* is found in the recurring phrase in Qatabanian purchase-documents, *ʾl ʿly*, 'El the Most High'.[155] This is interesting and perhaps suggests that the title Elyon implied divine judicial duties. In this sense, we can very easily understand an epithet of El given his role as the head of the divine council, which was in effect perceived as the heavenly court. The title Most High would, therefore, refer to his authority over the workings of the universe.[156]

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148 KTU 1.23:3.

149 KTU 4.63:ii:46.

150 KTU 4.338:4.

151 Gröndahl (1967: 108).

152 KAI 222A:11.

153 *P.E.* 1.10.15ff. See Della Vida (1944: 1-9); Pope (1955: 55); Attridge and Oden (1981: 46ff.). *ʿlywn* may appear as a DN in the Hebrew Bible in Deut. 32:8 and Ps. 82:6.

154 *TSSI ii*, 37.

155 E.g. RES 3882:4-5; 3962:5-6; 3965:4; 4335:2-3. Oldenburg (1970: 189, n. 12).

156 Cross (1962: 243, n. 79). L'Heureux (1979) suggested that *ʿlywn* is associated with the heavens.

qnʾ

The use of the adjective *qnʾ*, 'jealous, zeal', along with the 'fuller' variant form *qnwʾ*, is found as a modifier of *ʾl* in seven passages,[157] all of which use the phrase *ʾl qn(w)ʾ* in the context of Yahweh's displeasure of the worship of other gods.[158] This description recalls the similarly sounding *ʾl* (*ʿlywn*) *qnh* (*šmym wʾrṣ*)[159] and indeed may be a play on this title although, if so, one must question its purpose which, in the light of my opening observation, could well indicate that the *šmym* and *ʾrṣ* in the Genesis passage quoted above are divine rather than celestial beings.

Albright's assertion that 'the outstanding concept of God (Yahweh) in the Prophetic Age was his character as a "jealous God"',[160] is questioned by Cathcart, who observed that Nah. 1:2 'is the only occurrence of it in the prophetical books'.[161] R.L. Smith wondered whether *qnwʾ* 'may have been an old Canaanite form'.[162]

Nahum is called *hʾlqšy* ('the Elkoshite'), presumably a reference to his home village, **ʾlqš*, the location of which remains unknown.[163] The etymology of this place-name is, perhaps, best understood as deriving from √**qwš*, 'to

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157 *qnʾ*: Ex. 20:5; 34:14 (+ *yhwh qnʾ*); Deut. 4:24; 5:9; 6:15; *qnwʾ*: Josh. 24:19; Nah. 1:2.

158 Cf. Deut. 32:21; 1 Ki. 14:22.

159 Gen. 14:19, 22.

160 Albright (1957: 309).

161 Cathcart (1973: 39), Nah. 1:2 'is the only occurrence of it (*ʾl qn[w]ʾ*) in the prophetical books, and then in an old psalm which has been adapted and used as an introduction to the prophecy (against Nineveh)'. This would suggest that our verse has been placed before this old psalm as a contextual link with the oracles in chapters two and three. The nominal form *qnʾh* occurs in the following prophetic books as a predicate of Yahweh: Ezek. 39:25; Joel 2:18 and Zech. 1:14; 8:2.

162 R.L. Smith (1984: 73).

163 For further discussion, see Cathcart (1973: 38) and R.L. Smith (1984: 63).

give, bestow' (Akkad. *qāšu* › *qiāšum*, 'to give, bestow, grant'),[164] 'El has bestowed (this city)'. Examples of such a concept of El may be found in Ugaritic where El was known as a bestower of cities,[165] and also in the *Phoenician History* of Philo Byblos, who records that El/Kronos gave the cities of Byblos and Beirut to Baaltis/Dione and Poseidon respectively.[166]

> Yahweh is a jealous God and avenging,
> Yahweh is avenging and wrathful;
> Yahweh takes vengeance on his adversaries
> and keeps wrath for his enemies.
>
> Nah. 1:2[167]

As with the previous passages which feature the attributive phrase *ʾl qn(w)ʾ*, 'jealous god', the word *ʾl* is undoubtedly appellative.[168] In the first half of this verse (2a), three phrases (or titles) are employed by the poet in a sophisticated chiastic pattern to describe quite emphatically Yahweh's avenging nature against his enemies.

The opening attributive phrase, *ʾl qnwʾ*, 'jealous god', occurs in parallel with the closing *bʿl ḥmh*, lit. 'master/possessor of heat/wrath',[169] to form an *inclusio* around the repeated participial phrase *nqm yhwh*, 'avenging Yahweh'.

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164 Smith (1997: 117) translated *qšh* in KTU 1.3:v:33 as 'gift', rather than the generally accepted meaning, 'chalice'. BDB, 881, suggested the meaning 'lay bait or lure' for *qwš*, based upon Isa. 29:21, but offered no such meaning for the Heb. PN *qwšyhw*, which Fowler (1988: 359) related to our preferred root. The Hebrew personal names *qyš* and *qyšy* are, according to Huffmon (1965: 259), derived from √*qwš*. Cf. BDB, 885 and Noth (1928: 171).

165 KTU 1.14:iii:31-32; v:41-42; vi:11-12.

166 Eus. *PE* 1.10.35.

167 For detailed philological discussion of this verse, see Cathcart (1973: 38-44).

168 Josh. 24:19; Ex. 20:5; 34:14; Deut. 4:24; 5:9; 6:15.

169 This phrase is usually translated by the adjective 'wrathful'.

However, the occurrence of what appear to be the divine names El and Baal in this passage certainly merits further investigation. This circumstance raises the possibility that Nahum is using titles originally applied to El and Baal, or he is aware that the divine names El and Baal are (audibly) apparent in his description. The following arrangement of the text and accompanying translation is intended to highlight this possibility:

Nah. 1:2a

α	*ʾl qnwʾ*	El is jealous,
	wnqm yhwh	and avenging is Yahweh.
β	*nqm yhwh*	Avenging is Yahweh,
	wbʿl ḥmh	and Baal is wrath.

The parallel arrangement of the words *ʾl qnwʾ* in the opening colon and *bʿl ḥmh* in the closing one form a chiastic inclusio around the phrase *nqm yhwh*. The transition between each segment of α and β are achieved by the use of *waw*. A 'divine name' opens and closes the first bi-colon, while this sequence is reversed in the second.[170]

The adjective *qn(w)ʾ* is attested seven times in BH.[171] Our form[172] occurs twice (Nah 1:2; Josh. 24:19), on both occasions as a modifier of the appellative *ʾl*, while the more common form *qnʾ*, occurs five times, only in the Pentateuch and only as a complement of *ʾl*. Apart from Nahum's use of this

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[170] Part b of the verse resumes with the phrase 'avenging Yahweh' and concludes with a parallel description of the object of his 'avenging' nature; his foes (*ṣryw*) and his enemies (*ʾybyw*). The rest of the poem, or indeed the book of Nahum, makes no use of the word *ʾl*, except for the reference (Nah. 1:14) to the 'carved and molten images (in) the temples of your (Nineveh's) gods' (*ʾlhyk*). The DN Yahweh occurs ∞14 in Nahum: 1:2 (∞3), 3 (∞2), 7, 9, 11, 12, 14; 2:3, 14; 3:5.

[171] The term is thus far unattested in epigraphic Hebrew.

[172] Halévy, cited in Cathcart (1973: 38 and n. 15), took the longer form to be a *'forme dialectale phénicisante'*.

description, all the other passages are set within the context of covenant and Yahweh's injunction against the worship of other gods beside him.[173] The possibility that Nahum has preserved a memory that El was sometimes recognized as a jealous god is reminiscent of the description of El/Kronos by Philo Byblos (see my discussion in chapter seven). The warning Shapsh gives to first Athtar then Mot may refer also to El's jealous nature, particularly regarding his choice of king.[174] Driver thought he had found an occurrence of the verb *qnʾ* in the phrase, *iqnu šmt* [*b*]*n šrm*, 'I am zealous for the names of the royal ones',[175] but his reading is incorrect[176] and the verb he reads as 'zealous' is now recognized as the word for 'lapis lazuli'.

Can. *nqm*, a verb 'unattested as such in Akkadian',[177] occurs with relative frequency in the Amarna archive (eight times), seven of which are found in letters requesting Pharaoh's help in the face of hostile forces.[178] Campbell sees the use of this verb in the Amarna letters as representing 'the help a true vassal expects from his sovereign ... in short, vindication'.[179]

The phrase *bʿl ḥmh*, occurs only once more in the Hebrew Bible where it appears in parallel with the similar construction *ʾyš-ʾp*, 'angry man'.[180] Zech. 8:2 features the parallel terms *qnh* // *ḥmh* in Yahweh's declaration of his 'zeal/jealousy' for Zion. Ugaritic attests the noun *ḥm*, 'heat (= anger)' ‹ √**yḥm*,

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173 Sinai: Ex. 20:5; 34:14; Horeb: Deut. 4:24; 5:9; 6:15; Shechem: Josh. 24:9.

174 KTU 1.2:iii:15-20; KTU 1.6:vi:22-31.

175 KTU 1.23:21-22.

176 Driver (1956: 121). The restored *b* is now read as *t*. Cf. *KTU*²: *iqnu šmt*[...]*tn šrm*[...].

177 Campbell (1976: 48).

178 EA 244:26; 271:13; 274:10; 282:13; 283:16, 26. The final two occurrences (EA 250:20, 48) seem to use the verb in an oath of loyalty, possibly invoking punishment for making war. See Campbell (1976: 48f.) for further discussion.

179 Campbell (1976: 48).

180 Prov. 29:22. See GKC, 417, §. 128u. Cathcart (1973: 40), notes Prov. 22:24 and Sir. 8:16 where the arrangemet is reversed: *bʿl ʾp* // *ʾyš ḥmwt*.

'to be hot', in the account of Danel's curse following the murder of Aqhat.[181] Vengeance is certainly a theme of this epic, which ends with the (now lost) account of Pughat, Aqhat's sister, taking vengeance upon Yatipan the murderer of Aqhat. KTU 1.2:iv:33 contains what may also be an occurrence of the word *ḥm*, as a predicate of Baal. Unfortunately the tablet is very damaged at this point with most of the text lost, making any conclusion extremely uncertain.[182]

There is, as we have seen (beyond the Hebrew Bible and perhaps also Philo of Byblos) nothing to support the possibility that *ʾl qnwʾ* refers to El, but is rather a description of Yahweh.

rʾy

Gen. 16:13

wtqrʾ šm-yhwh hdbr ʾlyh	And she invoked the name of Yahweh,[183] the one speaking to her,
ʾth ʾl rʾy	'You are *ʾēl-Rᵒʾî*',[184]
ky ʾmrh	therefore, she said,
hgm hlm rʾyty ʾḥry rʾy	'. . . ?'.[185]

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181 KTU 1.19:i:39.

182 Cathcart (1973: 40) believed that *qnwʾ* 'seems to include a shade of meaning close to "furious, angry"'.

183 Westermann (1985: 234, n. b), suggested the emendation *hʾl*, However, it should be noted that Gk. ὁ θεὸς is also used for *ʾl* without the def. art. (e.g. Gen. 14:18), so it is possible that the DN *ʾl* is restored to the text.

184 In MT (app.) it is noted that Eissfeldt suggested revocalizing *rᵒʾî* to *roî*

185 The text of this line is hopelessly corrupt and makes no sense the way it stands. All attempts to make sense of this phrase have resorted to emendation of the text based upon either conjecture (*hlm rʾyty*, *ʾlhym rʾyty wʾhy*), after the famous suggestion of Wellhausen, or the evidence of the versions (*rʾy*, Sam.: *rʾh*; LXX: ὀφθέντα μοι); see BHS apparatus. Therefore I have refrained from an attempt at translation.

The phrase *ʾl rʾy*, attested once only,[186] is associated with the toponym Beer-Lahai-Roi (*bʾr lḥy-rʾy*) in the aetiological episode of Ishmael's birth announcement.[187] The toponym, located in the Negeb,[188] may be translated in various ways, 'Well of the Living One whom I saw',[189] 'Well that the Living One showed to me (in a vision)', 'well of the Living One of the vision' or, even, 'Well of the Living One of seeing'. Westermann observed that *lḥy* may have originally meant jawbone.[190] The noun *rʾy*, derived from the root *rʾh*, 'to see', appears to be a participle form and has two meanings, either 'vision, revelation', or 'spectacle', although it might be understood as an infinitive form with the suffix of object.

De Pury described El Roi as 'a pseudo-archaic divine name inserted by a later redactor', which would appear to be correct given that the name occurs only once[191] and has probably been included to complement the phrase *yhwh yrʾh*, 'Yahweh has seen', or 'Yahweh sees',[192] which occurs in the story of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac.[193] However, in the Ugaritic epic of *Keret*, El does exactly what the Hebrew text recounts him doing for Hagar; namely he sees a worshipper in distress and comes to his or her aid.[194] That both episodes are concerned with the issue of childbirth makes such an equation more likely than the idea that seeing the deity face to face would cause death, which appears to be a Yahwistic, rather than a patriarchal or general Semitic

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186 Gen. 16:13.

187 Gen. 16:14. The location is mentioned two further times (Gen. 24:62; 25:11), both in connection with Isaac who lives near to it. Indeed, Isaac lives near by or at the very place associated with an Ishmaelite settlement where his brother Ishmael's birth is announced, McKane (1979: 185).

188 Gen. 24:62.

189 Understanding here an infinitive plus a first person suffix.

190 Westermann (1985: 248), citing Gunkel and Wellhausen.

191 *DDD*², 291.

192 Westermann (1985: 353).

193 Gen. 22:14; LXX: κύριος εἶδεν.

194 KTU 1.14:i:35ff.

tradition, both of which describe meetings between the gods and humans as relatively common. In conclusion, there is no supporting evidence that *rʾy* ever was an epithet applied to El.

rbh

Ps. 89:8

ʾl nᶜrṣ bswd-qdšym	El is dreaded in the council of the Holy Ones,
rbh wnwrʾ ᶜl-kl-sbybyw	Great and feared by all around him.

In the passage quoted above, *rbh wnwrʾ* in parallelism with *nᶜrṣ*, which suggests that *rbh* may be an epithet or, at the very least a characteristic of El that could be referred to in anthropological terms, his role as head of the divine council.[195] This receives some support from personal names such as Amor. *Ya-ar-bi*-AN.[196] Ug. *ilrb*[197] and *rbil*[198] and EA *rab-ili*.[199] At Ugarit, it appears that El is the only deity referred to as 'great' in the onomasticon.[200] No examples of such names are attested in Phoenician, Hebrew or Ammonite, although the adj. is common in these languages.[201] In the Hebrew Bible, Yahweh is referred to as *mlk rb*, 'Great king'[202] and El is perhaps called 'great'

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195 The cognate *ᶜrẓ* is used as an epithet of Athtar at Ugarit, e.g. KTU 1.6:i:54.

196 Huffmon (1967: 260).

197 KTU 3.3:11; KTU 4.63:iii:41; KTU 4.63:iv:15.

198 Gröndahl (1967: 178-9). Gordon (*UT*, §. 19.2330) suggested that *rb* in *rbil* is derived from √*ryb*.

199 EA 170:36.

200 *PRU* ii, no. 32:3. The names *šu-mu-ra-bi* and *yrbᶜm*, may both indicate El. See Gröndahl (1967: 178-9).

201 Fowler (1988: 359) noted the occurrence of *rbb* in the BH name *yrbᶜm* and EB names *rbyhw* and *yrbᶜm*. It appears that in Hebrew the root *gdl* was preferred. Cf. Dan. 9:4.

202 Ps. 48:3.

(*gdwl*),[203] although here the word *ʾl* is surely appellative.

It has been suggested that Ug. *ʿrẓ* may mean 'broad (of intellect)',[204] which is attractive in the light of the biblical phrase *rbh qšt*, 'expert with the bow'.[205] It is possible that *ʿrṣ* and *rbh* describe El's wisdom, although given the words of Shapsh, it is possible that the other gods feel a sense of awe in El's presence.[206]

šdy

The use of *šdy* as an epithet is frequent (× 48), indeed the most common of the 'El epithets' in the Hebrew Bible. Occurring in nine books: Genesis (six times),[207] Exodus (once),[208] Numbers (twice),[209] Isaiah (once), Ezekiel (twice), Joel (once), Psalms (twice), Job (31 times) and Ruth (twice), it appears in the following combinations: simply as *ʾl šdy*, in parallelism with *ʾl*,[210] *ʾlh*[211] (and possibly *ʿlywn*[212] and *ʾlhy*), or absolutely (*šdy*).[213] Job features what may be a plural form *šdyn*, although the *qerê* suggests we read instead *šdwn*,[214] while in

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203 Deut. 10:17.

204 Cf. Arab. *ʿaruḍa*, Watson, cited in *DLU*, 90.

205 Gen. 21:20.

206 KTU 1.2:iii:15ff. and KTU 1.6:vi:25ff.

207 Six times: Gen. 17:1; 28:3; 35:11; 43:14; 48:3; 49:25.

208 Once: Ex. 6:3.

209 Twice: 24:4, 16.

210 Nu. 24:4, 16 (*ʾl // ʿlywn // šdy*); Job 8:3, 5; 13:3; 15:25; 21:14-15, 19-20; 22:2-3, 17; 23:16; 27:2, 9-10 (*ʾl // šdy // ʾlh*), 11, 13; 33:4; 34:10, 12; 35:13.

211 Job 5:17; 6:4; 11:7 (BHS records the reading *šmym* in one Ms.); 22:23, 26; 27:10; 29:4-5; 31:2; 37:22-23(?); 40:2. Cf. Ps. 91:1-2.

212 Nu. 24:16 and Ps. 91:1. Although the cluster of names in Ps. 91:1-2 (*ʿlywn, šdy, yhwh* and *ʾlhy*) would allow the interpretation that the parallel is *šdy // ʾlhy*.

213 Gen. 49:25 (possibly); Ezek. 1:24; Job 6:14; 22:23, 25; 24:1; 31:35; 37:23 (although *šdy* may be parallel with *ʾlh* in v. 22); Ps. 68:15; Ruth 1:20, 21.

214 Job 19:29.

Hosea there may be an occurrence of the plural form *šdym*.[215] Twice the plural form *šdym*, vocalized *šēdīm* is found,[216] which may refer to 'Shaddayim', given that in both of the passages where they occur sacrifices are performed to these deities, with children being offered in the second reference, a circumstance suited to El religion.[217] There are no instances where Yahweh bears this epithet directly, although it is found in parallelism with the name on a few occasions.[218] The combination *ʾl šdy* may be translated as 'El of Shaddai', 'El (who is) Shaddai', or 'the god Shaddai'.[219]

The etymology of *šdy* has been, and still is, greatly disputed,[220] generating almost as much controversy over its interpretation as the divine name Yahweh.[221] No consensus has been reached and no convincing argument for any suggestion made. Indeed, no evidence has surfaced in recent years to allow any conclusion over the possible etymology of this epithet or DN. The most recent discovery, that of the plaster inscription at Deir ʿAlla, which Lutzky has suggested contains the DN *šdy* (where all others have restored the

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215 Hos. 12:12. The apparatus suggests that we read *lšdym* instead of MTs *šwrym*: *bglgl lšdym zbḥw*, 'in Gilgal they sacrifice to Shaddayim'.

216 Deut. 32:17 and Ps. 106:37.

217 See de Hoop (1999: 208).

218 Ruth 1:20, 21 and possibly also Isa. 13:6 // Joel 1:15.

219 Gen. 17:1; 28:3; 35:11; 43:14; 48:3; 49:25[1] (reading with some Hebrew, Gk., Sam. and Syr. Mss); Ex. 6:3; Ezek. 10:5. See De Hoop (1999: 206f. and nn. 806-10) for a different assessment of the reading in Gen. 49:25.

220 For a comprehensive discussion over the etymology as well as the phonological problems involved over the sibilant in this epithet, see the recent discussions (concerning in particular the difficulty over the sibilants involved in any etymological argument) of Cross (1973: 52-60); Wifall (1980); Biale (1981) and de Hoop (1999: 206-15), amongst many others, all of whom include massive references, too great to be included here. See also Lutzky (1998), who builds upon the work of Biale and presents a strong argument that *šdy* was originally an epithet of Athirat and was subsequently transferred to El. Wyatt (1998: 330, n. 33), in his discussion of the cries of the two women concerning their relationship with El in KTU 1.23: 33, suggested that 'like other primaeval gods, El is androgynous'. See also Trible (1976: 368-9) and Biale (1981: 254). This was also the view of the rabbis (Genesis Rabba 8:1) and the Mediaeval scholars Rashi and Ibn Ezra (both on Gen. 1:27).

221 Biale (1981: 240).

divine name *šgr*)[222] has supported an identification of *šdy* with El, in the light of the parallels of that text with the Balaam traditions in *Numbers*, but offers nothing in the way of evidence for an etymology. Perhaps some illumination may be found in the observation that invovlement in the decision-making process of the divine council is identified as a function of the Shaddayin and, therefore a possible meaning for the word *šdy*.

The second combination of fragments from Deir ʿAlla has strengthened the case for seeing a plural form Shaddayim in Ps. 106:37, given the references to child sacrifice.[223] Etymological suggestions have consistently preferred a derivation from either Akkadian *šadu*, 'mountain'[224] or, Hebrew *śdh*, 'field, steppe, wilderness', but Hebrew *šd*, 'breast'[225] and Egyptian *šdi*, 'to suckle' is also possible.[226] A derivation from 'mountain' would be consistent with the location of the divine council in Mesopotamian, Ugaritic and Hebrew mythology, but it is unclear whether this may be applied to other Semitic concepts of the divine council, such as Phoenicia and Deir ʿAlla.

The nurturing role of Shaddai, as stressed in *Genesis*, may be appealed to for the meaning 'breast' as the source of the epithet *šdy*, but unfortunately we have no means of confirming such a view.[227]

Many scholars have spent inordinate amounts of paper discussing the

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222 Lutzky (1998: 26-30).

223 See here the persuasive study of Hackett (1980). This is presuming that both texts are related to each other and describe the same pantheon.

224 Notably Delitzsch (1886: 95-7) and Albright (1935: 180-93).

225 Dhorme (1922: 230f.); OAkk. *šadwi*.

226 Almost every article devoted to *šdy* discusses the etymolgy, so it seems to be superfluous to list them here. In this section (as in almost every discussion of the El epithets in the Hebrew Bible) practically every reference cited contains extensive bibliography devoted to the etymological disagreements and suggestions offered for the El epithets.

227 See Lutzky (1998).

Masoretic vocalization, particularly over the doubling of the medial *d*,[228] which may indeed be correct, but might be also the result of a process of theological (or etymological) speculation. The final *-y* cannot be a *mater lectionis*,[229] but must rather be understood as a gentilic-adjectival suffix,[230] deriving from an original *saddu'a*, or *šaddu'a*,[231] 'the one of the mountain'[232] or, 'mountaineer'.[233] Various other suggestions regarding what Shaddai means may be listed such as, 'my rain-giver',[234] 'the one of the field',[235] 'the one of the Wilderness/plain',[236] 'the destroyer',[237] 'my demon',[238] 'the one of breasts',[239] or 'the one of the two breasts'.[240] Alternatively the final *-y* has been understood as a personal suffix and comparable with Heb. *'dny*.[241]

The Amorite DNs *Sin Il Amurru* or *Bēl Šadê*, 'Lord of the Mountains',[242]

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228 Typical examples are those of Cross (1973), Wifall (1980) and Biale (1981).

229 De Hoop (1999: 209).

230 Albright (1935: 187).

231 Cross (1973: 54ff.); Biale (1981: 241).

232 Albright (1935); Cross (1973: 55 and n. 43). In his article of 1962, the author suggested that Ug. *ḏd il* should be understood to represent **ṯd il*, 'the mountain of El'. See here also (1973: 56), where Cross discussed the Hurrian form *il pbnḫwn*.

233 Biale (1981: 241).

234 Robertson-Smith, cited in Biale (1981: 240, n. 1).

235 Wifall (1980).

236 Weippert (1961: 42-62); Knauf, *DDD*², 749.

237 The text of Isa. 13:6 // Joel 1:15 (*šd mšdy*) supports this view, but this may be a mere play on words.

238 Nöldeke, cited by Walker (1960: 64).

239 Biale (1981: 248); Lutzky (1998).

240 Biale (1981: 248), who cites as supporting evidence the dual form without the final *-m* occurs also in Ezek. 13:18.

241 For discussion and references, see de Hoop (1999: 213-4 and nn. 862-71).

242 Abel (1973: 49-59). Also called DINGIR.DINGIR.MAR.TU, Ilu Amurrū, was identified by Cross (1973: 57) as El, due to his association with a goddess called Ašratu, whom he suggested is Athirat, but this is an uncertain indentification, given that Amurru may also be equated with Baal or Dagan, who were also popular amongst the Amorites, indeed perhaps more so than El, who is absent from Mesopotamian literature appearing only in personal names.

was seized upon as the explanation behind Hebrew El Shaddai,[243] and cautiously accepted by Cross, but there is no certainty over this identification.[244] If any identification is to be made for the owner of this epithet, surely it is Baal. In Ugaritic, the reading ...]×*d.il.šdyṣdmlk*[...[245] must be discounted as an occurrence of the DN Shaddai for two reasons, the first being phonological: for Hebrew *š* we should expect to read *ṯ* in Ugaritic, if we are to see here a reference to El Shaddai and, secondly, the text is severely damaged on either side of this line rendering any interpretation questionable. At Deir ʿAlla, the famous plaster inscription mentions a group of deities called *šdyn*, who may be so named after a deity known by the name or epithet *šdy*, which appears, on the basis of the Hebrew evidence, to have once been an alternative name for El. In Palmyran, we find the DN *šdyʾ*, which follows the theonym [bw]ʿ*str* (Lord of the dawn?) in a dedicatory inscription,[246] as well as the name *šdrpʾ*, whom De Moor equated with Baal.[247] The word *šdy* occurs in personal names in Egyptian,[248] Amorite,[249] Ugaritic,[250] Phoenio-Punic,[251]

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243 Bailey (1968: 434-8).

244 Cross (1973: 57, n. 52).

245 KTU 108:12.

246 Cantineau (1931: 130-1, no. 11:5-[6], 9): *lbw*[l]ʿ*str* [wšdyʾ]ʾ*lhyʾ ṯbyʾ ʿl ḥyyhwn* ... [bw]ʿ*str wšdyʾ*, 'For Bôlʾastar and Šdyʾ(?) the good gods; for their praise ... [Bô]lʾastar and Šdyʾ'. De Hoop (1999: 209), however, thinks that the inscription lists three gods here ('Bel, Astar and Shaddai'), although he does not separate *bwl* and ʾ*str* in his trnasliteration. He does note the uncertainty over whether *šdyʾ* is to be understood as singular or plural (1999: 209, n. 828), but also observes that the plural form at Deir ʿAlla has supported the view that Palmyran *šdyʾ* is nowadays generally taken as a singular, although *DNWSI*, 1111 suggests otherwise.

247 De Moor (1981-2: 119).

248 *ša-di-ʿ-m-y*, **Šadayʿamī*, 'Shaddai is my paternal relative', Albright (1957: 243).

249 *ša-di-*^{d}IM, 'Baal is Shaddai'; *ša-du-ul-la-mar-ṣú*-[u]*m*, "Shaddai is angry'(?); *ša-du-um-la-bu-a*, 'Shaddai is the lion', Huffmon (1965: 267).

250 *ṯdn* (KTU 4.377:29; KTU 4.290:13; KTU 7.9:3?), cf. Gröndahl (1967: 258); *ṯdny* (KTU 3.10:20; KTU 4.791:16; KTU 7.9:3?), cf. Gröndahl (1967: 257f.); *ṯdnyn* (KTU 4.225:10; KTU 4.611:29), cf. Gröndahl (1967: 258); *ṯdṗṯn* (KTU 4.114:4; KTU 4.631:21), cf. Gröndahl (1967: 205, 212, 251, 258); *ṯdṯb* (KTU 4.93:ii:12), cf. Gröndahl (1967: 264); *ṯdy* (KTU 4.116:18; KTU 4.650:3?) syllabic *ši*-DI-*ia* (PRU 6, 78:4, 16), Gröndahl (1967: 257); Huehnergard (1987: 231, n. 92); *ṯdyn* (KTU 4.643:12; KTU 4.649:4; KTU 4.650:3, 4?),

Hebrew,[252] Aramaic[253] and Thamudic,[254] which suggests that Shaddai could be used on its own, perhaps as a divine name.[255] This circumstance suits the descriptions of El found at Ugarit rather than in the Hebrew Bible, and may indicate great antiquity.[256]

In the Hebrew Bible, the full title *ʾl šdy*, is never used in connection with any aitiology explaining the meaning of the name, except for possibly *Ezekiel*[257] (where there may be a comparison with the sound of thunder from the mountain tops, but more than likely it is the divine council that is envisaged), but rather in the context of divine blessings and particularly those that make promise of progeny and the land to be inherited.[258] Indeed, *šdy* only occurs in Genesis with any credibility as an El epithet.[259] The use of the name in *Exodus*[260] may be explained as an attempt to identify Yahweh as the god the patriarchs worshipped, albeit under a different name, which may also be the reason why the deity is portrayed as identifying himself as El Shaddai on two occasions in *Genesis*.[261]

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cf. Gröndahl (1967: 257).

251 *ʿbdšdʾ* (*CIS* 4556.3; 5098.4/5; Ei-H 37.3; 88.3)[351] and *ʿbdʾšdʾ* (*CIS* 4555.3/4). Benz (1972: 414) also notes *ʿbdšbʾ* (1972: 163 [*CIS* 355.2]) and *ʿbdšrʾ* (1972: 425 [*CIS* 696]) as possible examples of *šdʾ* names.

252 *ʿmyšdy* (Nu. 1:12; 2:25; 7:66, 71); *ṣwryšdy* (Nu. 1:6; 2:12; 7:36, 41; 10:19); *šdyʾwr* (Nu. 1:5; 2:10; 7:30, 35; 10:18).

253 Lipiński (2000: 554 and n. 276) noted the female PN *šdyt*, which he decided meant 'fecund, prolific', 'despite the spelling ^{f}KUR-*i-tu*'. See also Lipiński (1995: 247-59).

254 Knauf (1999: 752).

255 Biale (1981: 241) suggested that 'the patriarchs ... worshipped Shaddai in conjunction with the Canaanite El, but this worship later gave way to the worship of Yahweh'.

256 In the Hebrew Bible the deity of the patriarchs apparently preferred this name, which may account for the frequent use of this epithet in *Job*, a book which although late, is obviously set in the patriarchal period. See Gen.17:1; 35:11, *ʾny ʾl šdy*; Ex. 6:3 *wʾrʾ bʾl šdy*.

257 Ezek. 10:5.

258 Biale (1981: 242ff.).

259 Gen. 17:1; 28:3; 35:11; 43:14; 48:3; 49:25.

260 Ex. 6:3.

261 Gen.17:1; 35:11.

CHAPTER FOUR

Epithets of El in Extrabiblical Hebrew

The divine name El is possibly attested in three epigraphical Hebrew texts:[1] the Jerusalem Ostracon (restored),[2] the Khirbet Beit Lei Burial Cave Inscription B[3] and the inscribed bowl from Khirbet El-Qom.[4] All the sites are in Judah and the period for these attestations stretches from the late eighth to the late seventh centuries BCE. Unfortunately, only one of these texts contains what may be an epithet of El.

The Jerusalem Ostracon

A fragmentary ostracon, discovered in Jerusalem in 1971 and dated to the late eighth/early seventh century BCE, contains three incomplete personal names on the first two lines, while on the third line, which is separated from the two upper lines by a gap, is found the combination *qn ʾrṣ*, which is identical with a

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1 Plaster Inscription D3 from Kuntillet ʿAjrud is not included here, because I do not think that it is a Hebrew text. For this reason I have devoted a separate chapter to its discussion.

2 Davies (1991: 70, §. 4.201).

3 Davies (1991: 88, §. 15.007).

4 Davies (1991: 106, §. 25.005).

title associated with El[5] and has been restored to read [*ʾl*]*qn ʾrṣ*, 'El, Creator of the earth'. The fact that this inscription was found in Jerusalem is interesting in the light of the tradition that Jerusalem was the city of Melchizedek the priest king of 'El Elyon, Creator of the heavens and the earth' (*qnh šmym wʾrṣ*).[6] That the deity bearing this epithet is not *yhwh*, is perhaps confirmed by the fact that whenever Yahweh is identified as Creator, *qny* is never used, the preferred word is *ʿśh*[7] because, according to Habel, 'later Yahwism ... was averse to ascribing any sexual characteristics to Yahweh',[8] precisely the nuance intended in the use of *qny* as an epithet of El in the Ugaritic tradition. There is no evidence that El was called 'Creator of the earth' at Ugarit. The use of the root *qny* in Ugaritic, with El as subject, refers to El as the 'Creator of gods',[9] with procreation and fatherhood the obvious sense behind the phrase *qny w adn bn ilm*, 'Procreator and Father of the sons of El',[10] which emphasizes repeatedly El's role as 'father'. It is, after all, no coincidence that Athirat was called *qnyt ilm* 'Procreatress of gods'.[11] Although no instances have survived, it is quite likely that El and Athirat were sometimes known as **qny w qnyt* (*bn*) *ilm*.

Although Day voiced reservations over the certainty of the restoration of the DN *ʾl* to the Jerusalem ostracon,[12] support may be found in the similar

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5 Avigad (1972: 195f.); Miller (1980: 43-6); Ahituv (1992: 22-3).

6 Gen. 14:18-20. Cf. Ps. 76:3, which may be the inspiration behind the Genesis text.

7 *yhwh ʿśh šmym wʾrṣ*: Pss. 115:15; 121:2; 124:8; 134:3. The use of the name Yahweh in the formula found in Gen. 14:22: *yhwh ʾl ʿlywn qnh šmym wʾrṣ* is a scribal addition. The DN is missing from Greek, Syriac and DSS manuscripts.

8 Habel (1972: 325).

9 KTU 1.10:iii:5.

10 KTU 1.3:v:9. This phrase is preceded by (*il*) *mlk ab šnm*, 'the king, the father of the Bright One' and followed by *ṯr il abh*, 'Bull El her (Anat) father'.

11 KTU 1.4:i:22. Note also the PN *qnum*, which may mean 'the mother has created'. See Watson (1993: 218) for a different view.

12 Day (2000: 20, n. 23).

descriptions of El from the Hebrew Bible,[13] the Phoenician inscription from Karatepe,[14] the bilingual Aramaic/Greek text from Palmyra,[15] four tesserae also from Palmyra[16] and the neo-Punic inscription from Leptis Magna.[17] Further, Hittite ^{d}*Il-ku-ni-ir-ša* (borrowed from Canaan before 1200 BCE)[18] is evidence for the antiquity of the phrase. Miller noted the possible antiquity of the form discovered on the Jerusalem ostracon, indicated by the lack of the final *he* on the word *qn*, a form he considered to be required by the orthographic practices of that period. He also wondered whether the phrase represented 'a cultic or religious cliché in frozen form' and noted the connection between *ʾl qn ʾrṣ* and the context of blessings[19] and cursings[20] found in other texts containing this phrase.[21] The epithet *ʾl qny ʾrṣ* has also been read in an incantation from Arslan Tash, but the text is badly damaged, preventing any secure judgement.[22]

Personal names containing the DN + *qny* may in fact allude to the fuller title *ʾl qn ʾrṣ*, such as Phoenician *qnʾl*, Hebrew *ʾlqnh*[23] and Assyrian *Ilu-qanā* and *Qanā-ilu*.[24] The Ugaritic personal name *ilyqn*, cannot be confirmed as

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13 Gen. 14:19, 22. The biblical title, however, reads *ʾl ʿlywn qnh šmym wʾrṣ*. Cf. Ps. 102:25-26, which appears to allude to El as the creator of earth and heaven, although the element *ʾl* (v. 25) has the 1st person singular possessive suffix. Note also Isa. 40:28 *ʾlhy ʿwlm yhwh bwrʾ qṣwt hʾrṣ* 'an eternal god is Yahweh, creator of the ends of the earth'.

14 KAI 26A:iii:18, *ʾl qn ʾrṣ*, eighth century BCE.

15 *ʾlqwnrʿ*, Cantineau (1938: 78f.).

16 Ingholt (1955: 32).

17 KAI 129:1, *ʾl qn ʾrṣ*, second century CE.

18 Miller (1980: 43).

19 Gen. 14:19.

20 KAI 26A:iii:18.

21 Miller (1980: 45).

22 AT 1:15 [---(-)]ʿnʾ ʾrṣ . bʾʿltʾ. Texi, Pardee (1998: 18).

23 Ex. 6:24; 1 Sam. 1:1, 4, 8, 19, 21, 23; 2:11, 20; 1 Chr. 6:8, 10, 11, 12, 19, 20, 21; 9:16; 12:6; 15:23; 2 Chr. 28:7.

24 De Moor (1980: 176). Personal names containing the DN *ʾl* and attested in Hebrew inscriptions discovered in Jerusalem are: *ʾhyʾl* (twice, Davies [1991]: §. 4.122, early

carrying this meaning.[25]

The Khirbet Beit Lei Burial Cave Inscription

Khirbet Beit Lei Burial Cave Inscription B, dated to approximately 700 BCE, may contain the DN El and a possible epithet (*ḥnn*), but this is uncertain. The text was originally read as:[26]

> p*qd yh* ʾl *ḥnn nqh yh yhwh.*
>
> 'Visit O Yah, god of graciousness. Declare blameless, Yah, Yahweh.'

Naveh interpreted the inscription quite differently and read instead:

> *hmwryh* ʾ*th ḥ*nnt *nwh yh yhwh*
>
> 'The (Mount of) Moriah Thou hast favoured, the dwelling of Yah, Yahweh'.[27]

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seventh century BCE; §. 4.123, late seventh/early sixth century BCE.); *ʾlyqm* (Davies [1991]: §. 100.829, late seventh/early sixth century BCE); *ʾlntn* (Davies [1991]: §. 100.820, late seventh/early sixth BCE); *ʾlšmʿ* (× 5, Davies [1991]: §. 100.072, early seventh century BCE; §. 100.100?, mid seventh century BCE; §. 100.807, late seventh/early sixth century BCE; §. 100.810, late seventh/early sixth century BCE; §. 100.835, late seventh/early sixth century BCE.); *yšʾl* (Davies [1991]: §. 100.213, mid seventh century BCE); *yšmʿl* (× 4, Davies [1991]: §. 4.107, late eighth/early seventh century BCE; §. 100.045 [*l*], date unknown; §. 100.053, date unknown; §. 100.803, late seventh/early sixth century BCE).

25 Watson (1990: 116). See also Huffmon (1965: 221), who lists the Ug. names *ya-ku-un-*AN (*PRU* iv, pl. xlii, 17.319, 20) and *yknil* (*PRU* ii, no. 116.12; *UM*, no. 314.15).

26 Davies ([1991]: §. 15.007).

27 Naveh (1963: 85f.).

Inscribed Bowl from Khirbet el-Qom

A Bowl discovered at Khirbet el-Qom described as a typical 'Judean piece' and inscribed after firing on the lower body with *ʾl*, has been dated to the late eighth/early seventh century BCE.[28] Dever, who published the bowl, supposed that the inscription on this bowl indicates 'that it was considered a sacred vessel, probably for libations'.[29] If this inscription contains the divine name El and not merely the appellative 'god', it offers, according to Dever, important evidence 'that "El" was never entirely displaced in Israel or Judah by "Yahweh"'.[30] An alternative explanation of this inscription was offered, which suggested that it contained two halves of the alphabet *ʾ* plus *l*,[31] but this seems unlikely, given that the bowl was discovered in a tomb.

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[28] Dever (1969-70: 173f., fig. 14, pl. viii:b).

[29] Dever (1969-70: 173).

[30] Dever (1969-70: 173).

[31] Puech in *ABD* v, 126-35 (Palestinian Funerary Inscriptions), proposed that *ʾl* represents the two halves of the alphabet!

CHAPTER FIVE

Epithets and Titles of El in Phoenician

Apart from the epithet *qn ʾrṣ* and circumstantial evidence that El was recognized as the father of the gods (**ʾb ʾlm*) in the formulae *wkl dr bn ʾlm* and *wkl bn ʾlm*,[1] there are no recognizable epithets of El in the corpus of Phoenician and Punic inscriptions, apart from *ʾdn* and *bʿl ḥmn*, which occur chiefly at Carthage, and quite possibly *bʿl ʾdr*, *ʾdr mlk* and *Abaddir*, which preserves the epithets *ʾb* and *ʾdr* in Latin transcription.

ʾdn

The epithet *ʾdn*, 'Lord', is a common divine title in Phoenician and Punic inscriptions[2] and is frequently applied to Baal Hammon in votive inscriptions, always preceding the DN.[3] Once in Phoenician we find it applied to El:[4]

> *lʾdn lʾl ʾ*[š] *ndr bʿlš*[l]*m bn bʿl*[yt]*n kšmʿ ql*[y y]*brk*
>
> 'For the Lord, for El, which Baalshalem, son of Baalyaton vowed, for he heard [my] voice, [and] blessed (me)'.
>
> (Umm el-Awamid Votive Inscription no. 8a)

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1 KAI 26A:iii:18-19 and KAI 27:11.

2 See also my discussion of *ʾdn* in my chapters on Ugarit (above) and Homs (below).

3 Harris (1936: 74).

The etymology of *ʾdn* is unclear, although it is certain that the word originated in the Canaanite language family, given the different words used for 'lord' in the other Semitic families.[5] Some have suggested that *ʾdn* may derive from *ʾd*, 'father',[6] with a suffixed *-na*,[7] or that it is derived from **ʾadun-*?/**ʾadān-*? 'lord', itself a derivation from Eg. *idnw*, 'administrator'.[8] No consensus has been reached over the possible derivation of *ʾdn*. Its use in the Hebrew Bible as a title of Yahweh is very common

The word *ʾdn* is found in personal names from the earliest until the latest periods[9] and Benz wondered whether the word *ʾmn* in some Ph. personal names was a phonological variant of *ḥmn* in the phrase *ʾdn ʾmn*,[10] rather than a reference to the Egyption deity Amon, although the second deity enjoyed widespread popularity throughout the whole of the ancient Eastern Mediterranean. Comparing Pun. *bʿlʿmn{n}*,[11] suggests that Benz had some justification.

ʾdr

Although the adjective *ʾdr* (including the feminine form *ʾdrt*) is used of a number of gods, the frequency in which the name *bʿl ʾdr*, 'Great/Mighty Lord',

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4 Text, Magnanini (1973).

5 See Akk. *bēlu*, Aram. *mrʾ*, Arab. *rbb* and Eth. *ʾegzīʾ*.

6 In the Amarna correspondence, *addānu*, 'father', sometimes appears (e.g. EA 287:26), Albright (1950: 388).

7 Huffmon (1967: 159). The author also wondered whether *ʾdn* might not be related to *ḥdn*.

8 Albright (1950: 389). According to Faulkner (1999: 35), *idnw* usually occurs as part of a phrase describing the function of authority, e.g. *idnw n msʿ*, 'lieutenant-commander of the army', although it was 'sometimes used alone when the specific function was clear to the writer'.

9 Huffmon (1967: 159); Gröndahl (1965: 90); Fowler (1988: 334).

10 KAI 118, Benz (1972: 260-1).

11 Krahmalkov (2000: 425-6), *Punica*, 100 (*NP* 43.1): *lʾdn lbʿlʿmn{n}*.

occurs in tandem with *tnt*,[12] and also by the presentation of a *mlk* sacrifice to the same deity,[13] suggests an identification with *bʿl ḥmn*, or El.[14] This is confirmed by the combination *bʿl ḥmn bl ʿdr*.[15] Further, in Greek inscriptions from el-Hofra, the name Kronos occurs where one would expect Baal Addir. He is there paired with Θεννειθ φενη Βαλ.[16] This is also the case in the Latin inscriptions found there, where the name Saturn occurs.[17] The ancients identified both Kronos and Saturn as El. Baal Addir and Baal Hammon never appear in the same inscription and the similarity in iconographic symbols occurring on inscriptions bearing the title *bʿl ʾdr* strongly supports an identification with Baal Hammon.[18]

The epithet **ʾb ʾdr* is preserved in the Latin transcription *Abaddir*,[19] 'Great Father', and has been suggested as 'a byword of the god ʾIl',[20] although Lipiński considered the name to be descriptive of 'des pierres dressées qui incarnaient la présence divine, comme Béthel, Sakon ou Abaddir'.[21]

Finally, the title *ʾdrmlk*, 'Great/Mighty King', has been convincingly identified as an epithet of El by Olyan,[22] who also noted that in Plutarch,[23] the character of Μαλκανδρος (**mlkʾdr*) is very much like that of El/Kronos, as well as the fact that he is the king of Byblos and husband of Astarte and also that the account contains the motif of child sacrifice. This evidence he

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12 See particularly the inscriptions from el-Hofra, 4:1; 12:1-2; 13:1-2; 16:1; 17:1-2; 19:1-2. See also the Phoenician inscription from Iberia, quoted by the aforementioned author (1988: 64, n. 11), where we find the pairing *tnt ʾdr* and *bʿl ʾdr* (*Sefarad* 15 [1955]: 49, no. 5).

13 El-Hofra Inscription 42:1.

14 As argued by Olyan (1988: 64-5).

15 KAI 162:1. The lack of conjunctive *w* suggests both titles refer to the same god.

16 See also KAI 176: ΚΡΟΝΩΙ ΘΕΝΝΕΙΘ ΦΕΝΗΒΑΛ.

17 Olyan (1988: 66-7).

18 Olyan (1988: 66).

19 *CIL* viii 21481; Augustine, *Epistle* 44; Priscianus 7.313.

20 Krahmalkov (2000: 28). See also the discussion of Olyan (1988: 64-9).

21 Lipiński (1995a: 66).

22 Olyan (1988: 67-9).

23 *Is. et Osid.* 357.

compares with the biblical deity *ʾdrmlk*, to whom children are sacrificed.[24]

The evidence very much supports the conclusion that *bʿl ʾdr*, **ʾbʾdr* and *ʾdrmlk* are all epithets of Baal Hammon who is, himself, El.

bʿl ḥmn

The epigraphic evidence for *bʿl ḥmn* is frequent.[25] It is almost always preceded by *ʾdn* (see above) and in tandem with the title of his consort *tnt pn bʿl*.[26] It is possible that the title *bʿl ḥmn* originated from an original liturgical formula, such as **ʾl bʿl ḥmn*, 'El is Lord of the incense-altar/Ammanus', that eventually broke away from the DN El to become a divine name itself. Perhaps, given its association with child-sacrifice, *bʿl ḥmn* was a euphemism for the divine name. Whatever, it served as almost the personal name of El in Punic.

Scholars generally adopt one of two positions regarding the meaning of *ḥmn* in this divine title: 1. *ḥmn*, 'incense burner, brazier', and 2. *ḥmn*, '(Mount) Ammanus'. Both meanings may be applied to El convincingly, the first his connection with child sacrifice, with the 'brazier' being the fire in which the child is consumed (√*ḥmh*, 'heat, poison, rage'),[27] and the second, the constant references (albeit at Ugarit) to his living on, or under, a mountain, identified with the Ammanus by Cross.[28] Although Cross' argument is convincing,[29] it must be noted that the association of the 'incense burner, brazier' with Baal Hammon is equally attractive. No conclusion may be drawn at present over

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24 2 Ki. 17:31. Olyan (1988: 68) rejected the correction to *ʾddmlk*.

25 See Xella (1991) for a comprehensive study of Baal Hammon.

26 See, e.g. KAI 78:2f.; KAI 79:1f.; KAI 103:1; KAI 105:1f.; KAI 106:1; KAI 107:1.

27 If the interpretation of the inscription *CIS* 3917:3, is correct then the word *ḥmn* signifies an incense altar, or a chapel with such an altar, although it should be noted that in other texts the context does not allow for such a literal meaning of the word.

28 Cross (1973: 24ff.) identified *ḥmn* with Mt. Ammanus, El's dwelling place. Dijkstra (1993: 160) understood, in the phrase *il pbnḫwn ḫmn*, the word *ḫmn* in the Hurrian hymn to El (KTU 1.128:9-10), to be the personification of the mountain of El, while de Moor (*TWAT* i, col. 265) translated the phrase as 'El of the mountain Ḫamanu'. Cf. *ʾmnh*, Song. 4:8.

which meaning is to be preferred.[30] Rosén suggested that the divine name *'b 'a'al hâmo'n* (is) interpretable from the verbal root *h-m-* "sounding, creating noise" as the "Loud God, the Thundering God" (like the Hittite *"Wettergott"*)', with the suffix *-wn* interpreted as 'an agentive morpheme',[31] *hmwn*, 'The Loud One' < *'The Loud Lord(?)',[32] which he perhaps identifies with Baal or Yahweh, although he does not identify the god he envisages. However, this etymology cannot be correct, given that Rosén appears to have equated the root *hmh*, with *ḥmh*, which has a completely different meaning, 'heat, poison, rage'.

Baal Hammon was identified with El,[33] Kronos[34] and Saturn.[35] Kronos — himself identified as El by Philo of Byblos, like Baal Hammon, was the recipient of human sacrifices.[36] In this discussion, therefore, the common view that *bʿl ḥmn* = El is accepted. Further, the iconography associated with Baal Hammon corresponds very closely to that of El at Ugarit.[37]

Day objected to the view that Baal Hammon is to be identified with El and preferred to identify him as a form of Baal, 'as the name would suggest'. Part of his argument was based upon the observation that in Latin inscriptions Baal Hammon 'bears the epithets *frugifer* and *deus frugum*'. These epithets, he argued, indicate a fertility god, 'which does not suit El very well although it suits Baal admirably'.[38] But the association of El with childbirth certainly

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29 Cross (1967: 12, n. 27 and 1973: 26).

30 It is difficult to assess whether the statement of Naʾaman *DDD*², 144, that 'literally Baal-Hamon means either "Baal of a multitude" or "possessor of wealth"' (he prefers the secoond explanation), should be considered here, given that he is discussing Hebrew TNs bearing this name (Song 8:11; Judith 8:3).

31 Rosén (1998: 440).

32 See e.g. 1 Sam. 4:14; 14:19; Isa. 13:4; 31:4; 33:3; 60:5; etc.

33 *CIS* 4943 *lʾl lbʿl ḥmn wlrbt ltnt pn bʿl*, 'to El, to Baal Hammon. To the Lady, to Tannit-face-of-Baal'.

34 KAI 176: ΚΡΟΝΩΙ ΘΕΝΝΕΙΘ ΦΕΝΗΒΑΛ.

35 Xella (1991: 92; 94, n. 9).

36 E.g. Philo Byblos (Eus. *Praep.* 1.10.21, 34, 44); Diod. Sic. (xx.14.4-7); Soph. *Andr.* fr. 122; Justin xviii.6; Sext. Emp. *hypotyp.* 3.208, 221; Porph. *De abst.* ii.27; Plut. *Mor.* 552a.

37 Cross (1973: 24, 35-6).

38 Day (1989: 37-40). Day thought it unlikely that *ḥmn* means 'Ammanus', 'since it seems

highlights his role in human fertility. His association with childbirth could easily be interpreted in a metaphorical manner, with the child representing the corn that must be harvested and presented before the god. Further, given his title 'Bull' and the tradition of his sickle in Greek tradition, it seems possible that he could be called also *frugifer*. Such an epithet need not have an innocent meaning.[39]

Day observed that 'it is striking that the Carthaginian inscriptions never refer to the deity as El, but consistently refer to him as *bʿl ḥmn*'. He then suggested that Baal Hammon may be the deity's personal name, but stated that 'on a number of occasions Baal Hammon is "simply called Baal", with no accompanying epithet'. He concluded that Tinnit's consort may be called either Baal Hammon,[40] or Baal,[41] and that 'for the Carthaginians, Baal Hammon was a form of Baal rather than of El.[42] Day used the association Anat = Tanit to argue that Baal Hammon should be identified with Baal, rather than El,[43] There are many dedications to Baal Hammon and Tinnit in which Tinnit is referred to as 'face of Baal',[44] but this does not necessarily imply that her consort is Baal. At Carthage we have such an inscription as Day denies, which provides a clue to understanding the epithet of the goddess: *lrbt ltnt pn bʿl ḥmn*, 'To the Lady, to Tannit, face of Baal Hammon'.[45] Whether or not this

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unlikely that the chief Carthaginian deity should be named after such a remote north Syrian mountain', that there is no proof of the parallelism in the Zinjirli series of names to support the equation El = Baal Hammon, the equation with Kronos; Kronos could indicate Baal as well as El, for according to Servius Grammaticus, 'Saturn in the Punic language is called Baal'; Theodoret of Cyrrhus, ' Baal ... They say he is called Kronos in the Greek language'; Damascius, 'The Phoenicians and Syrians called Kronos El and Bel Bolathen'.

39 See Xella (1991: 67).

40 E.g. KAI 105:1 *Pdn lbʿl ḥmn wlrbt ltnt*, 'To the lord to Baal Hammon and to the lady, to Tinnit'.

41 E.g. KAI 137:1 *Pdn lbʿl wltnt pn bʿl*, 'To the lord, to Baal and to Tinnit face of Baal'.

42 Day (1989: 86-91).

43 Day (1989: 37-40).

44 KAI 85:1; KAI 79:1; KAI 86:1; KAI 94:1; KAI 97:1.

45 Text, Xella (1991: 52, n. 82), *CIS* 2358.

means that all such dedications ending *pn bʿl*, should be understood as an abbreviated for of *pn bʿl ḥmn*, or that this is an isolated occurrence, is unclear, but at least we now have evidence to support the view that Baal is not the deity mentioned in this phrase. As the ancients themselves asserted, it is El/Kronos who was called Baal Hammon.

ḥmn in personal names

The use of *ḥmn* in personal names, is apparent in the name *ʿbdḥmn*, 'Servant of (Baal) Hammon(?)', found at Ugarit, where it is written both alphabetically[46] (plus the alograph *abdḥmn*)[47] and syllabically.[48] Names featuring *ḥmn* occur also in the Phoenicio-Punic onomasticon.[49] The name also occurs in Assyrian as *Abdiḫimmōn* and in Gk. in the form Αβδημουνος.[50] There is also the hypocoristic form *ḥmn* from Megiddo.[51] All of these examples, if correctly interpreted, attest to an active and long ranging cult of Baal Hammon.

Benz noted the name *ḥʿm*?[52] and also wondered whether the *aleph* is a phonological variant of *ḥ* in names formed with the substantive *ʾmn*.[53] He further identified the personal name *ʾmn* as possibly a variant, hypocoristic form of the name *bʿlḥmn*,[54] which is 'probably to be identified with 'El'. This

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46 KTU 4.75:i:3; KTU 4.93:ii:18; KTU 4.170:14; KTU 4.177:3; KTU 4.332:12; KTU 4.617:17 and KTU 9.461:20. Gröndahl (1967: 104).

47 KTU 9.461:20. *DLU*, 70.

48 *ab-di-ḫa-ma-ni*, PRU 3, 64 (RS 16.200):3; IR-*ḫa-ma-nu*, PRU 3, 240; RSO 7, 3 (RS 34.036) mg. 2. For discussion see Huehnergard (1987: 212, 240).

49 *abdi-ḫamānu*. Gröndahl (1967: 135) interprets the root as *ḫmm*, cf. Huffmon (1967: 196-8). Note also *ab-di-ḫi-mu-nu* (ADD 425:15), while Josephus preserves the Phoenician names in Greek transliteration: Αβδημονος, *Ap*. 1.17; Αβδημουνον, *Ap*. 1.115 and Αβδημονα, *Ant*. 8.146, 149. See Benz (1972: 313).

50 Krahmalkov (2000: 187).

51 Sass (1993: 219, no. 92).

52 Benz (1972: 312-3).

53 Benz (1972: 312). See also *ibid*. (204, j.), where he cites examples of instances where Phoen./Pun. ʾ replaces *ḥ*.

54 Benz (1972: 270). Xella (1991: 59, n. 103) notes the variant spellings found for *bʿl ḥmn*:

would also suggest that *ʿbdʾmn* should perhaps be read *ʿbdḥmn*[55] and that the Neo Punic phrase *ʾdn ʾmn*, from Tripolitania, mentions Baal Hammon, rather than Amun: *ʾdn l(bʿl)ḥ'mn*.[56] The same may said for the personal names *ʾlʾmn* and *ʾḥʾmn*.[57] Also the personal name *ʾlʾmn* may well mean 'El is (Baal) Hammon',[58] although the possibility that it (as well as the other examples) contains the Egyptian DN Amun (*ỉmn*) and should be translated 'Amun is god'.[59]

qn ʾrṣ

This title has been discussed more fully elsewhere in this thesis, so here we shall be content merely to note that it is found on the Phoenician inscription from Karatepe.[60] The title *ʾl qn ʾrṣ* is invoked as one of the gods expected to act against the person who might deface the inscription. The fact that the god's name is invoked in a formula that has judicial consequences should be compared with the similar use of this title in Gen. 14:18-22.

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bʿlḥmm, bʿlhmn, bʿlmn, bʿlḥlmn, bʿlḥmmn, bḥlmn, bʿlʿmn, bʿlḥm, blḥmn, bhlmn, bʿlḥn, bʿḥnn.

55 Benz (1972: 149, 270).

56 KAI 118:1.

57 Benz (1972: 61).

58 Benz (1972: 270).

59 See Muchiki (1999: 15); Krahmalkov (2000: 42, 51, 60).

60 KAI 26A:ii:18.

CHAPTER SIX

El in the Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos

Phoenician (and most likely also Greek) traditions about Ἦλος/Κρόνος[1] are preserved in the fragments of the *Phoenician History*, written by the second century CE historiographer Herennius Philo of Byblos, who claims to have translated, into Greek from the original Phoenician, the writings of a certain Sanchuniathon who, according to Philo, lived before the Trojan War.[2] This material is preserved by the fourth century CE writer Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Praeparatio Evangelica*.[3]

Although Philo of Byblos offers none of the epithets or titles of El/Kronos we find in the Ugaritic texts, his familiar role as king,[4] husband,[5] and father of the gods[6] is clearly described, as is, perhaps, also his wisdom in the epithet

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1 Note the variant spelling Ἴλο(ς) preserved in a few manuscripts, Baumgarten (1981: 15).

2 For a thorough discussion of Philo of Byblos' *Phoenician History*, see Baumgarten's commentary (1981).

3 *P.E.* 1.10.15-29; 33; 44.

4 This is evident in the description of his succession to kingship (βασιλεία) after defeating his father Ouranos, *PE* 1.10.18. Cf. Κρόνος βασιλῆος, Hes. *Theog.* 476. Interestingly, Kronos, as the youngest of the sons born to Ouranos, is the one who inherits his position, much like the youngest sons of the patriarchal narratives of the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Isaac and Jacob).

5 *PE* 1.10.22.

6 πάτηρ τῶν θεῶν, *PE* 1.10.18, 21, 29; 1.11.3, 6. Hesiod uses a formulation much closer to the Ugaritic description of a son of El (*bn il*) in the phrase: Κρόνου υἱὲ ἄναξ, 'O king (Zeus), son of Kronos', *Theog.* 660. Further, evidence of Kronos' role as 'father of the

ἀγκυλομήτης. Kronos, like El, has also been perceived in the form of a bull.[7] Further continuity is clear also from Philo's description that, 'the allies of El — that is Kronos (Ἥλου τοῦ [καὶ] Κρόνου)[8] — were called Ελωειμ, in the same manner as those who were called Κρόνιοι after Kronos'.[9] Ελωειμ is clearly the Greek equivalent of Ug. *ilm*, Ph. *ʾlnm*, Aram. *ʾlhn* and Heb. *ʾlhym*. The second term, Κρόνιοι, is used to describe gods either allied with Kronos, or descended from him.[10]

The statement by Pope that 'the attempt to supply a Greek etymology (for Κρόνος) must be considered a failure'[11] prompts the question of whether the etymology derives from a Semitic word which was either an epithet, or title of El, which offers an important clue regarding the character of El (and also Kronos). In this chapter I shall explore the possibility of a Semitic etymology for the name Kronos and discuss some of the epithets applied to Kronos in Greek literature.

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gods' was preserved throughout the Greek world in the popular patronym of Zeus (Κρονίδης).

7 Pope (1955: 35), citing *HkAW*, vol. 5, 1106, n.

8 Ἥλον τὸν καὶ Κρόνον, *PE* 1.10.16; 1.10.20 (Ἥλου τοῦ [καὶ] Κρόνου), for the textual difficulty here, see the discussion of Baumgarten (1981: 198); 1.10.29 (ὁ Ἥλος τοῦτ' ἐστιν ὁ Κρόνος); 1.10.44 (Κρόνος ... ὃν οἱ Φοίνικες Ἦλ προσαχορεύουσιν). See also the comments of Baumgarten, who observes that while no bilingual inscriptions confirm this identification, 'Philo's identification... is certainly correct' (1981: 189f.).

9 *PE* 1.10.20.

10 Cf. *LS*, 998, Κρονίδαρ. In this respect, cf. the Qumran text and LXX translation of Deut 32:8.

11 Pope (1955: 54). See also Roscher (1890-7: 1546-9) and Farnell (1896: 24). Popular (Classical) Greek etymologies such as χρόνος, κραίνω and κόρονος (κόρος), have correctly been discarded long ago (cf. Farnell, vol. 1 [1896: 24]) and will not, therefore, be discussed here.

grn

The possibility that the Greek divine name Kronos is derived from the Semitic word *grn*, 'threshing floor',[12] may at first seem rather tenuous, but receives support from the observation that Sem. *g* in the initial position may be represented by κ in Gk.[13] as well as Akk. *muqrānu*, (› *√*qrn*), threshing floor'.[14] It is possible that the borrowing was from Akkadian,[15] although we have no evidence that such an epithet was ever applied to El. This would provide a good etymology, given that Kronos had a festival dedicated to him that 'seems to have been a harvest-feast', it would make good sense to identify him as a corn deity, or 'harvest god',[16] which also explains why he wields the sickle (Gk. ἅρπη).[17] Greek Κρόνος would, according to this view, have originally been an epithet of El: *'The One of the threshing floor', which later became a divine name in the Greek world.[18] In Greek, the word for 'threshing

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12 Ug. *grn*, Heb. *grn*, OSA *grn*, Syr. *gurna*, Eth. *g*eren* and Arab. *jirn*, *jurn*.

13 E.g. Sem. *grl* › Gk. κοράλλιον, 'lot', Lewy (1895: 18f.) and *gml* › κάμηλος, 'camel'. See also the suggestion that Sem. *ʾgn* (Heb. *gyḥwn*) provides the etymological explanation for Gk. Ὠκεάνος, Wyatt (2001: 85, n. 2).

14 *AHw* 608. *CDA*, xviii: *√grn* ‹ *qarānu(m)*. Akk. *gurunnu* means 'to stack or pile up (tribute or dead bodies)', CAD v, 142. Nuzi *mag/qrānum*, 'threshing floor', was also the name of a month (ARMT iii. 31:9, 13; 78:8) and at Nuzi we find the word *magrattu*, 'threshing floor' (*UT*, §.20.441, citing *Or.* 12 (1943): 65, n. 1). If Nuzi *magrattu* does not derive from *grn* (with typical coalescence of the *n*: **magrantu* › *magrattu*), it is possible that it derives from the root *grh*, 'to stir up strife, go to court', which in itself testifies to the legal use of the threshing floor. As a noun, or participle (with prefixed *m-*), **mag/qara(n)tu* › **mag/qra(n)tu*, this is certainly possible, although no examples to support such a view exist (cf. Gen. 19:8, *√qrḥ*). At Mari we find a variant form *maškanum*, written KI.UD. At Nuzi, the *maškanum* is the sacred tent, erected by or upon the threshing floor. In *Keret* (KTU 1.15:iii:18-19), the parallel pair *aḥl* // *mškn* occur in a religious context, while in the Hebrew Bible *mškn* is used to designate the tabernacle, which was eventually replaced by the temple, which was also called *ḥmqwm* 'the (dwelling) place' (E.g. Lev. 15:31, 26:11; Josh. 22:29; Ezek. 37:27; Pss. 26:8; 46:5; 74:7).

15 The equivalence of Sem. *q* and Gk. κ is commonplace, given the absence of the uvular stop in Greek. See also my discussion at ἀγκυλομήτης below

16 Farnell (1896: 25-30); Singer (1992: 444).

17 Hes. *Theog.* 175, 179. Apoll. *Lib.* 1.1.4.

18 Cf. the examples of *bʿl ḥmn* (El) and *mlqrt* ‹ *mlk qrt* (Reshep). Note also that Aram. *ʾdr*, threshing floor', was also the name of the twelfth month at Babylon (*ad(d)aru*), which

floor' is ἄλωη › ἀλώνι, but any discussion over the origin of this word is beyond our survey here.[19]

For the sake of brevity and relevance to my point, the texts that draw attention to the mere agricultural use of the threshing floor will be left aside. We will instead note, briefly, the legal aspect and discuss some of the literary and religious contexts in which we find the threshing floor in the texts from Ugarit and in the Hebrew Bible.

In Ugaritic literature the word *grn*, 'threshing floor', occurs × 15: twice in *Keret*;[20] three times in *Aqhat*;[21] four times in the mythical tablets associated with the Rapiuma;[22] once in a letter;[23] once each on two hippiatric tablets (as a prescription of fresh grain from the threshing floor as a cure for a horse ailment);[24] once in a bilingual (Hurro-Ugaritic) ritual tablet;[25] and once in an administrative text, where it appears as a component of a toponym.[26] In the Hebrew Bible the word *grn*, 'threshing floor' occurs 36 times in various contexts: agricultural, royal, legal and cultic[27] and also as a toponym on more than one occasion.

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corresponds to Gk. Κρόνιος, the month named after Kronos and in which the Κρόνια, or festival in his honour was held. See here *HkAW*, vol. 5, 221.

19 Likely derived from an original *σαλώη (evinced by the hard breathing on the opening vowel), which later becomes ἀλώνι, naturally acquiring the ν, which is not a component of the original form, between the two vowels ω and ι. It is possible that Gk. ἀλώη derives from Luwian *harwa-* 'harvest', see Kalaç (1965: 411).

20 KTU 1.14:iii:8 (*grnt*); iv:52 (*grnm*).

21 KTU 1.17:v:7; KTU 1.19:i:[23], 30.

22 KTU 1.20:ii:6, 9; KTU 1.22:ii:[25], [28].

23 KTU 2.61:8.

24 KTU 1.71:10; KTU 1.72:13, 18.

25 KTU 1.116:1.

26 KTU 4.296:16.

27 See, however, the discussion of Münderlein (*TDOT* iii, 62-5), who rejects almost all identifications of the threshing floor as a place of cultic activity.

The threshing floor in Ugarit was the place where kings sat in judgment over the legal affairs of the kingdom.[28] There is a similar scene in *Aqhat*, when Baal intercedes on behalf of Danel before El, presumably in the divine council.[29] It is, perhaps, no surprise to note that one of the words used to denote this assembly is *dr*, which can also mean 'circle'.[30] The use of the threshing floor as a place for conducting legal transactions is also stressed in the Hebrew Bible, particularly in the episode that describes the ninth century BCE kings of Israel (Ahab) and Judah (Jehoshaphat) negotiating a truce between both kingdoms on the threshing floor by the gate of the city of Samaria in order to join forces against the Arameans.[31]

In the ancient Near East diplomatic agreements were always witnessed, ratified and blessed by the gods. That the kings of Judah and Israel chose the threshing floor as the locus of such an act, accompanied by sacrifices, is evidence of the threshing floor as a place of cultic activity. As the earthly son of the deity, the king sat enthroned upon the threshing floor as king, judge, and priest.

Rites of mourning were conducted at threshing floors, the place where the gods and the deified dead (*rpum*), the heroes and kings of the glorious past, assembled to partake in cultic feasts, which lasted seven days.[32] When Jacob the patriarch died, all of Egypt mourned him for seventy days before his body was carried from Egypt to a *grn hʾṭd* in Transjordania, where he was mourned for seven days before being buried in the cave of the field of Machpelah near the cultic site of Mamre. So many Egyptian officials attended the mourning

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28 KTU 1.17:v:4-8. For a different assessment of *grn*, see Gray (1953: 118f. and 1965: 107, n. 3).

29 KTU 1.17:i:12-27.

30 *DLU*, 136.

31 1 Ki. 22:10 // 2 Chr. 18:9. Note the ritualistic character of this meeting, with both kings enthroned and dressed in their finest royal regalia. In order to determine the success of this venture they consult Yahweh by means of a prophet. Compare also Job 29:12-13.

32 KTU 1.20:ii:6, 9; KTU 1.22:ii:[25], [28].

ceremony that the site was renamed Abel-miṣraim to commemorate the event.[33] As with the Ugaritic Rapiuma text, the mourning rites at the threshing floor are attended by nobility (represented in Ugaritic mythology by the deified dead), who arrive by chariot and on horseback. In both texts, the mourning period at the threshing floor is for seven days, with feasting and drinking rites observed. This suggests some continuity between Ugaritic and Hebrew tradition with respect to the use of the threshing floor as a place of mourning.

Cultic activity is also described as having occurred on the threshing floor in Ugarit on the bilingual Hurro-Ugaritic ritual tablet (KTU 1.116), where worshippers are called to assemble there to sacrifice to Athtart:[34]

dbḥ ʿttrt	Sacrifice for Athtart.
qrat b grn	Assemble on the threshing floor.
aṯḥlm ṯuṯkd	Feast for Shaushka
agndy mṯdndy	on/at/in the *agandi* and the *šadandi*.[35]

This tablet describes Athtart/Shaushka as the principal guest, the goddess to whom the food is consecrated. Shaushka was the Hurrian name for Astarte.[36] The opening ritual of this tablet may have been also connected with mourning rites, given the role Athtart/Astarte played with regard to the feeding of the dead[37] and, as we have seen in the patriarchal tradition, the threshing floor was

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33 Gen. 50:7-11.

34 KTU 1.116:1-4.

35 The Hurrian word *ag* may be cognate with Sem. *ʿwg*, 'to draw a circle', Noegel (1998: 413).

36 See the equation preserved on a tri-lingual (Ugaritic, Hurrian, Akkadian) text: *ʿṯrt = ṯuṯk = dišt̲ar* (*Ug.* v, 501).

37 Note the 'windows without the lady' tomb markers in Greek, particularly Cypriote funerary contexts (e.g. *ICS* 285, 286). In the empty window, the family of the deceased would leave food and drink offerings for the dead that Astarte conveyed to the hungry

the location of mourning rites that included a banquet in honour of the dead and to which (dead) heroes were invited. In Ugaritic tradition these dead heroes were the (divinized) Rapiuma and were invited guests alongside the gods.[38] The Hebrew Bible similarly connects the Canaanite king Og with the Rephaim,[39] while a Phoenician funerary inscription from Byblos threatens grave robbers with the spirit of Og.[40]

The Ugaritic toponym *grn uškn*, 'the threshing floor of *Uškanu*',[41] is interesting and the one occasion in Ugaritic where the word *grn* is preserved as an element of a place-name. Ushkanu (located about four km SE of Latakia) was a relatively important town in the kingdom of Ugarit, boasting a school of scribes. Further, in the light of the association of the word *ušk* with Ishtar, the fertility goddess *par excellence*, the use of the word *ušk* in a toponym is worthy of note, given that it means 'testicle'. The importance of agriculture in fertility cult is obvious and needs no explanation. It is, therefore, unsurprising that Ishtar is associated with such a place. Fertility cults on the threshing floor are perhaps alluded to in the Hebrew Bible, when Ruth seduces Boaz on the threshing floor by lying upon his feet.[42]

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and thirsty dead. In Egypt Hathor, who was equated with Ishtar/Astarte/Aphrodite, performed a similar function.

38 Noegel (1998: 423).

39 Ps. 135: 11 and Deut. 3:11 respectively. See Noegel (1998: 414, 416-7, 425). Noegel also noted that biblical Og, like Ugaritic Rapiu, lived in Bashan. For other references to the Rephaim in BH, see Isa. 14:9; 26:14; Ps. 88:11; Prov. 2:18; 9:18; 21:16.

40 Text and translation, Noegel (1998: 416): [ʿ]*lt ʾrn zn wlrgz ʿṣmy kʿg ytbqšn hʾdr* ..., '[for open]ing this sarcophagus and for troubling my bones, the Og will search out for me, the mighty ...'.

41 KTU 4.296:16. In Syllabic cuneiform, this toponym is recorded variously as: ^{URU}*uš/úš*(BE)-*ka-ni* and ^{URU}*úš-ka-*^{d}IŠTAR.

42 Ruth 3:1-9, Rowley (1965: 169-94). The Hebrew word for feet (*rgl*) is often a euphemism for the pubic region, as we find in the phrase *śʿr-hrglym*, 'pubic hair (lit. 'hair of the two feet' cf. Ug. *ušk* above)', Is 7:20, and the curious episode in Ex. 4:24-26, where Zipporah circumcises her son and rubs the foreskin against Yahweh's foot (or penis, *rglyw*).

The Book of *Samuel* recounts the activities of king David as he consolidates his power in Judah. In his desire to centralize his kingdom, he chooses Jerusalem as his capital and accordingly desires to locate the cult of Yahweh in his royal capital. Chapter six describes his bringing the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem. As the procession reaches the 'Threshing floor of Nacon' the oxen pulling the cart in which the Ark resides stumble and Uzzah reaches out a hand to steady the Ark. In touching the Ark, Uzzah incurs the wrath of Yahweh, who kills him for his indiscretion.[43]

The *grn nkwn* is commonly believed to have belonged to an individual named Nacon. However, in the parallel passage the Chronicler has *grn kydn*,[44] which implies, if the threshing floor is named after an individual, that it either belonged to two separate people at the same time, or that there has been some confusion regarding the meaning of *nkwn*, with the term *kydn* being an attempt to make clear the meaning. The Greek versions show similar confusion regarding the name of this threshing floor, but apparently associate it with an individual or a town,[45] while Josephus calls the place Χειδῶνος, with similar confusion in some manuscripts.[46] This suggests that this threshing floor was, perhaps, not named after an individual or place after all, but carried a different meaning.

Attempts have been made to see in the word *nkwn* a participial adjective formation derived from the Niphal (passive) form of the verb *kwn*, 'to be; to create, establish', which would allow the meaning 'an established threshing

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43 2 Sam. 6:1-8 // 1 Chr. 13:1-11.

44 Some LXX Mss have χειλών. For the interchange of *l* and *d* in Semitic, cf. Ug. *mlbr* for *mdbr*, KTU 1.12:i:21

45 2 Sam. 6:6 ἄλω Νωδαβ; 1 Chr. 13:9 ἄλωνος. (Heb. √*ndb*, 'to impel, stir' ‹ *ndbh*, 'voluntary offering').

46 Jos. *Ant.* vii. 81. Some Mss have the variants Χείλωνος (RO), Χήλωνος (E), Χείδονος (S Exc. Suidas), Χείδανος (P), *Chedon* (Lat.). See Baumgarten (1981) for further discussion.

floor' or, 'a certain threshing floor'.[47] But neither is likely given that the noun *grn* is feminine, while the adjectival modifier is masculine. It is preferable to see in the use of both *nkwn* and *kydwn* a genitive construct formation — the traditional grammatical analysis of this construction, which allows a masculine participle or noun to follow a feminine noun. But while the traditional interpretation understands both words to be personal names,[48] here I will suggest an alternative meaning for both that allows for the textual difference.

The root *nkh*, 'to smite, strike dead', offers a good etymology for *nkwn*, given that the verb *nkh* is used to describe Yahweh's smiting of Uzza[49] for touching the Ark. The Ark is none other than the throne upon which Yahweh is enthroned as he is carried through the land by the king and his retinue. The threshing floor of Nacon would therefore mean 'the threshing floor of the smiting', that is, the place where ritual killing was carried out. In Ex. 17:16, the reason given for Yahweh's ordering Joshua to destroy the Amalekites is because they 'laid a hand upon the throne of Yahweh' (*yd ʿl-ks yh*).[50]

The word *kydwn* is equally interesting. The traditional understanding that this word means 'javelin',[51] has been shown to be impossible in the light of the War Scroll from Qumran, which describes the *kydwn* as 'the sword (or scimitar) to bring down the slain by the judgement of God (*ʾl*)' and describes how it should be fabricated.[52] The *kydwn* is, therefore, the divine weapon used in battle to defeat the enemy. In *Joshua*, Yahweh instructs Joshua to point the *kydwn* towards the city of Ai, which is then defeated and delivered into his

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47 Morgenstern (1918: 144-8).

48 See, for example, Smith (1899: 294).

49 2 Sam. 6:7.

50 Older editions of MT 'have *ks yh* as two words', Freedman (1976: 58, n. 9).

51 *Mish. Kelim* 11.8; LXX, γαῖσος: Josh. 8:18; Judith 9:7.

52 1QM 5:7, 11, 12, 14; 6:5.

hands.[53] In the remaining passages that contain the word *kydwn*,[54] we read that Goliath wears bronze greaves on his shins and has a bronze *kydwn* slung from his shoulders, hardly a javelin. Jeremiah describes the Assyrians, or Scythians, as carrying both bow and sword.[55] In *Job*, the horse is described as being fearless as the *kydwn* whirls about him in battle,[56] while the monster Leviathan scoffs at the quivering *kydwn*.[57] Given the consistency with which the *kydwn* is associated with killing, it would be reasonable to see in the construction *grn kydwn*, a description of this threshing floor as being a place where the *kydwn* was brandished in some cultic sense,[58] perhaps the place where the king ritually put to death the enemy king, typified in the description of Uzzah being put to death because he 'laid his hand upon the throne', or the transgressor of contracts or treaties, which demanded such a penalty.[59]

It is extremely likely that the Hebrew Bible preserves evidence that reveals the threshing floor as a place of human sacrifice. Although this evidence has been almost obliterated, the various traditions comprising the Hebrew Bible, in their differing attempts to conceal Israel's past which most certainly included human sacrifice, leave behind various small clues, which when compared, show that Israel like the surrounding nations in the Levant indeed sacrificed the firstborn child to El.[60] Human sacrifice was not

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53 Josh. 8:18, 26.

54 1 Sam. 17:6.

55 Jer. 6:23.

56 Job 39:23.

57 Job 41:21. The verb *rʿš*, is associated with rustling, or waving crops (Ps. 72:16), as well as having an association with primaeval chaos in the celestial battle described in Joel 2:10.

58 Cf. Joel 4:13, where the description of Yahweh mowing down warriors on the battlefield may derive from traditions of El/Kronos in like manner; also Isa. 34:6f., where the killing of humans is equated with sacrifice.

59 An ivory panel from the bedstead discovered at Ugarit perhaps depicts such an act.

60 This is one of the primary injunctions the deity makes to his chosen people: Ex. 13:2; 22:28; Num. 8:17.

restricted only to this injunction. During difficult wars the king's firstborn was, on occasion, sacrificed in the hope that he might turn the tide of battle in favour of the besieged city.[61] El/Kronos is reported by Philo of Byblos to have performed exactly the same act in the hope of preventing plague.[62] During a divinely ordained plague, and under divine instruction, David bought the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite in order to build an altar to sacrifice to Yahweh, so that the plague may be stopped.[63] *Chronicles* adds that David proclaimed the threshing floor as the altar and tabernacle of Yahweh. This was the place where Solomon built the first Jerusalem Temple[64] and was identified by the Chronicler as Mount Moriah, which was also was the place (*mqwm*) to where Abraham was ordered by Yahweh to take his favoured (*yḥyd*) son Isaac and offer him there as a burnt offering.[65] The word *mqwm* has three distinct meanings: 'place', 'city' and 'temple'. It is no coincidence that Abraham is ordered to sacrifice his 'favoured' son at the place, which later tradition identifies as the threshing floor of the smiting, where an altar was built by David and later a temple by Solomon. It is perhaps this smiting that the phrase *grn nkwn* refers to. Further, the word 'favoured' (Gk. μονογενής = Heb. *yḥyd*) is precisely the same word used to describe the son whom Kronos sacrificed.[66] Now in Semitic literature this word never means 'only begotten', but 'beloved', that is, 'preferred' or chosen over against any other sons — usually the first born. Moriah, the name of the mountain Abram travelled to means 'vision'.[67] The mountain is, therefore, the place of the seeing of

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61 2 Ki. 3:26-27.

62 *PE* 1.10.33.

63 2 Sam. 24:11b-25 // 1 Chr. 21:1-22:1.

64 2 Chr. 3:1.

65 Gen. 22:2-10.

66 Translated as 'beloved'. The same meaning is found in Hesiod.

67 Heb. *mryh* is written in the Samaritan Pentateuch as *mwr²h* (glossed as *ḥzyth* in $\cdot^{T}$), LXX σ′ has τῆς ὀπτασίας (= Heb. *ḥmr²h*), all of which suggest a derivation from √*r²h*, 'to see'. See Wyatt (2001: 157, §. 5[14], n. 1).

Yahweh, the place where he perhaps resides as king in judgement over his people, on the threshing floor where his temple stands.[68]

In the Greek world, the connection of the threshing floor (ἀλώη) with deities and cultic places is evident in the association of the threshing floor with Demeter, the goddess of grain. Apollo's temple at Delphi had a threshing floor situated next to it, while on Cyprus at Idalion, a threshing floor was situated next to the temple of Aphrodite.[69] Further, Zeus was known by the epithet ἀλώνιτης, 'the one of the threshing floor', a title he perhaps inherited from his father Kronos.[70]

Unfortunately, there is no literary evidence to support the sugestion that Sem. *grn* was ever used as an epithet of El, but the identification of Yahweh with El,[71] as well as the evidence discussed above concerning the association of the threshing floor with human sacrifice is intriguing in the light of the association of El/Kronos with human sacrifice, as is also the fact that Kronos was identified as a corn or harvest deity (see also the discussion on *bʿl ḥmn* above).[72]

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68 Altar 4017 (Stratum 17; EB ii-iii) at Megiddo, may have been a (cultic) threshing floor. It was constructed upon the site of an earlier (Stratum 19) temple.

69 This is recorded on the Idalion Bronze Tablet (*ICS* 217), written in Cypro-Syllabic and discovered in the sanctuary of Athena, which informs us that the land upon which this threshing floor (*a-la-wo* › ἄλϝω) stood was granted to a physician named Onasilos who treated the inhabitants of Idalion during a plague that occurred during the siege of the city by the Phoenecians.

70 LS Suppl. 21.

71 Ex. 6:3.

72 Farnell (1896: 23-31). See also my discussion of *ʿmq šwh* (= *ʿmq hmlk*) in the chapter below discussing the amulets from Arslan Tash.

qrn

It is possible that Gk. Κρόνος means 'the Horned One', and should be equated with Sem. *qrn* (Akk. *qarnu*).[73] This would also allow an association with El's Ugaritic title *ṯr il* and the iconographical representations of a horned El as well as the Aegean ones of *bʿl ḥmn* (albeit with rams' horns), although the association of El/Kronos with the ram has never been adequately explained.[74] A derivation from Sem. *qrn* may also receive support from the Gk. word for 'horn', κεραίνος, although the contraction from κεραι- to κρο- must be considered very difficult, if not unlikely.[75]

Κραίνω

Κραίνω, 'to accomplish, fulfil'; 'to reign, rule'; 'to come to an end'. The Greek scholar J.E. Harrison favoured this etymology,[76] but as with most scholars who discuss any possible meaning for the name Kronos, she declined to investigate the plausibility of such a proposal. Farnell understood the word 'in the sense of "ripen"' and discarded the possibilty of it being associated with Kronos due to the problems involved in vowel change.[77]

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73 H. Lewy (1895: 216f.). As noted above, the equivalence of Sem. *q* and Gk. κ is commonplace.

74 Perhaps the use of rams' horns, rather than bulls' horns, illustrates knowledge of the fact that El was horned, but also suggests that this was not an important characteristic for the Greeks/Cypriotes.

75 The Hebrew personal name *krn* (Gen. 36:26; 1 Chr. 1:41, vocalized *Kʿrân*) may provide a rationale for this contraction. This name has never been satisfactorily explained and may be cognate with Sem. *qrn*, although given that it is the patronym of a 'Horite' clan (for the view that 'Horite' means 'Hurrian', see Wyatt [1990] followed by Allan [2000]), we may prefer to connect this name with Sem. *grn*, threshing floor' which has already been discussed. Cf. Hurr. *ka-ru-bi*, 'granary', = Akk. *išpiku*, 'yield, produce (of a field)'; 'storage jar or bin, storehouse' (*CDA*, 134) = Sum. ŠÀ.DUB, Laroche (1980: 137). The final -*n* would be a perfectly normal Semiticization of the Hurrian word.

76 Harrison (1963: 496).

77 Farnell (1896: 24).

In the Ugaritic 'Hymn to the Kotharat', El is given the title *bʿl gml*, 'Lord of accomplishment', or 'the fulfiller',[78] which may be the source of Greek κραίνω. However, if this is the case and Kronos is derived from κραίνω, 'to accomplish, fulfil', then it is a Greek translation of, and not a derivation from, a Semitic title or epithet of El. My proposal is that the Gk. word Kronos is derived from a word of Semitic and not Greek origin. Alternatively, κραίνω, 'to rule',[79] may be equated with Sem. *mlk* and is indeed an attractive possibility, but this word is never used to describe kingship in the LXX, and only begins to be used with this meaning in Greek during the fifth century BCE, which rules out any connection with Kronos who was known by that name as early as Hesiod or Homer.

Some Greek epithets of Kronos

Ἀγκυλομήτης

Apparently a compound derived from the adjective ἀγκύλος, 'crooked, curved'[80] and the noun μήτης, 'council, craft, plan', the word ἀγκυλομήτης (Boet. ἀγκυλομείτας) is usually translated as 'crooked of council', but possibly had the original meaning 'with curved sickle'.[81] It always occurs in combination with the divine name Κρόνος, usually in the second position, but occasionally metrical balance positions it at the head of the word pair.

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78 KTU 1.24:42.

79 LS, 989.

80 This is the meaning offered in L-S. Note that Gk. ἀγκύλη (ἄγκος) denotes a particular way in which the arm is bent, and that the statue of El/Kronos (Baal Hammon) in Carthage had 'bent' arms upon which the child offered in sacrifice was placed and from which it fell into the flames below (Diodorus Siculus xx.14.4-7). See Day (1989: 88).

81 Versnel (1993: 94), who draws attention to *Lexicon des frühgriechischen Epos* and Chantraine's *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*.

The earliest attested use of ἀγκυλομήτης is, of course, Hesiod[82] and Homer.[83] Homer reserves this epithet for Kronos alone, while Hesiod also bestows it upon Prometheus.[84] There are also the variant epithets ποικιλομήτης, 'of various wiles',[85] αἰολομήτης, 'of nimble wisdom' and ποικιλόμυθος, 'of various discourses',[86] all of which are obviously derivatives of ἀγκυλομήτης[87] and applied to Kronos and are more than likely poetic variations dictated by metre, but given that all the above-mentioned variants refer to intellectual strength, a characteristic of El at Ugarit,[88] it is distinctly possible that the element ἀγκύλος in ἀγκυλομήτης refers to Kronos' intelligence. Whether it is for positive or negative results, the power to outwit is clearly implied in the epithet, given its association with Prometheus. Is ἀγκυλομήτης a translation into Greek of an original Semitic epithet or title applied to El? Or, may we find a Semitic etymology for this compound, or at least a part of it that makes sense, given what we know of El/Kronos as Philo of Byblos describes him?[89] If Greek ἀγκύλος, has a Semitic etymology, a promising candidate is the root *nkl*, 'to act cleverly, contrive'.[90] This

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82 Hes. *Theog*. 18, 137, 473, 495, 546.

83 E.g. Hom. *Il*. 2.205 *Od*. 21.415.

84 Hes. *Erg*. 48. The name Prometheus is derived from the word προμήθεια, 'foresight', 'forethought'.

85 West (1966: 158). ποικιλομήτης, is used to describe both humans and gods, e.g. Odysseus (*Il*. 11.482; *Od*. 3.163; 13.293) and Zeus (*Hymn to Apollo*, 322).

86 Orph. *H*. 13.5.

87 Perhaps attempts to interpret the perhaps already obscure epithet ἀγκυλομήτης.

88 Cf. *ltpn il d pid* in my chapter on the Ugaritic epithets.

89 Μήτης, 'council, craft, plan', is Greek, but immediately recalls El's role as head of the divine council. The divine king, whose council and judgement is sought and always heeded and from whom permission must be granted before the gods of the Ugaritic pantheon may act.

90 *AHw*, 717b: Akk. ‹ Aram. Note OSA, 'skilled work of art' (› Akk. *nikiltu*, 'skilful handicraft', *AHw*, 788a. See also Akk. *niklu*, 'ingenuity, trick', *AHw*, 789b.

etymology would presuppose that the Greek word is derived from a nominal form with an initial *aleph*: **ʾnkl*.[91]

In Hebrew the use of *nkl*, although rare, is always to denote devious intelligence.[92] The noun and the Piel form of the verb are both used to describe the manner in which the Israelites were persuaded with 'craft' and 'beguiled' to commit the apostasy at Peor,[93] which resulted in a plague that was only stopped after Phinehas killed Zimri and the Midianite woman with whom he had intercourse.[94] That the slayer of this couple was a priest suggests a ritual aspect to the killing, which is further supported by the fact that the plague ended after this act (see discussion on *grn* above). Interestingly, the two passages featuring the hithpael form of *nkl*, are concerned with the death of a human. In the first case, Gen. 37:18, it is Joseph's brothers who 'plot' (*nkl*) to kill him — although they fail to carry out their plan, Joseph metaphorically dies in the land of the dead itself, Egypt. The second passage,[95] recounts the plagues of the Exodus tradition, culminating in the deaths of the first-born of the Egyptians. The one remaining passage containing the verb *nkl* is concerned with sacrifice.[96]

The Greek personal name Αγϙυλιον, from Anaphe and dated to *c.* 700-675 BCE,[97] supports the suggestion here that Αγϙυλος meant 'wise'. For while the meaning 'clever, wise' etc. is a suitable choice for a name, 'crooked,

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91 Note here, Jewish Aramaic *nᶜkēyl*. In Hurro-Hittite tradition Kumarbi is known by the epithet 'Cunning king'. See KUB xxxiii 120 + 119 (= xxxvi 31):15-20, 19 and 35.

92 The verb occurs four times: Qal (ptcpl.): 'to cheat' (Mal 1:14); piel: 'to act deceptively' (Nu 25:18); hithpael: 'to plot' (Gn 37:18; Ps. 105:25), while the noun is found once only (Nu. 25:18).

93 Nu. 25:18.

94 Mendenhall (1973: 105–21).

95 Ps. 105, *nkl* occurs in v. 25.

96 Mal. 1:14.

97 Powell (1996: 144), no. 40. The inscription is written on an epitaph found on the island of Anaphe, east of Thera.

curved' most certainly is not, unless the individual thus named had crooked legs. One attestation of the name does not help. Whether the name refers to Kronos is unclear; the element Αγϙυλο- might just as readily be descriptive of Prometheus, the only other bearer of this epithet.

If my suggestion that Gk. ἀγκύλος = Scm. *nkl* is indeed correct, then the use of two words with similar meaning to make a single epithet in Greek is interesting and reminds one of the compound epithets or names used to describe gods that we repeatedly find repeatedly at Ugarit.[98]

Κρόνος βασιλήος

Kronos is known as βασιλεύς (Hes. βασιλήος), 'king', from the earliest period[99] until late antiquity.[100] According to Hesiod it was Kronos who introduced kingship,[101] while the Sibylline Oracles (Gk. Κυβελη) predict that Kronos will return 'invested with the power of a sceptre-bearing king'.[102] Kronos' kingdom was understood to have been on earth and a place of justice, peace, and prosperity, which 'Pindar so strongly associated ... with human kingship that he calls the abode to which the pious travel after death, a king's "tower"'.[103] Not surprisingly do we find mention of Kronos' kingship in Philo of Byblos (noted above) and cannot fail to compare the title of El in Ugaritic myth, *il mlk*, 'King El'. Interesting, in the Greek traditions, is the tower to which the pious dead (Heroes/Rephaim?) in Pindar travel — perhaps a faint echo of El's 'house' in Semitic tradition, which is, of course, a temple. The so-

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98 Copious examples abound, cf. *ktr w ḫss*.

99 E.g. Hes. *Theog*. 462, 476, 486, 491; *Erga* 111, 169ff.

100 Julian *Conviv*. 317D.

101 *Theog*. 486.

102 *Or. Syb*. 1. 292, translation by Versnel (1993: 95).

103 *Ol*. 2.125ff., Versnel (1993: 95). Hesiod (*Erga*. 111) places his kingdom in heaven during 'the Golden Race'.

called Temple of Dagan on the acropolis of Ugarit had a tower, and not surprisingly Keret is told to ascend a tower to make a sacrifice to El.[104] At Olympia, the priests of the ancient cult of Kronos were known as οἱ βασιλαῖ, which perhaps supports the view of Pindar that a tower was in some manner connected to his kingship.[105]

Μεγάς Κρόνος

This epithet is found in both Hesiod[106] and Homer[107] and also occurs in tandem with ἀγκυλομήτης.[108] There is no equivalent in Philo of Byblos, or Ugarit, although El is perhaps described in the Hebrew Bible as 'Great' in the divine council:

Ps. 89:8

ʾl nʿrṣ bswd-qdšym	El is dreaded in the council of the Holy,
rbh wnwrʾ ʿl-kl-sbybyw	Great and feared by all around him.[109]

The image seems to be one of El enthroned, with all the gods of the council in awe of his greatness. While it is possible that the Greek description of Kronos as μεγάς derives from El religion, it is also possible that the phrase is influenced by Akkadian *šarru rabû*.[110]

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[104] KTU 1.14:ii:20. While the Keret story is not set in Ugarit, the religious traditions are familiar enough to the people of Ugarit to the point where they lack any explanation.

[105] Versnel (1993: 99).

[106] *Theog*. 168, 459, 473, 495.

[107] *Il*. 5.271; 14.192, 243.

[108] Μέγας Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης, *Theog*. 168, 473, 495.

[109] Yahweh is called *mlk rb*, 'Great King', in Ps. 48:3.

[110] CAD Š/2: 80.

Βωλαθή

Delcor observed that according to Damascius, Kronos was also known to the Syrians and Phoenicians by the name Βωλαθή,[111] which in Semitic would be *bʿlʾth*, 'Lord/husband of *ʿtʾ/ʾth* (Anat)'. If this equation is indeed correct, it would explain the association of Anat (Tanit) and Baal Hammon, although it is obvious that Tanit is Asherah, the serpent lady.[112] Day used the association Anat = Tanit to argue that Baal Hammon should be identified with Baal, rather than El,[113] but this is unnecessary in the light of this epithet. Further, if Tanit is to be identified as Anat, both KTU 1.12 and KTU 1.23 show that El could be engaged in sexual and marital relations with his daughters.[114]

The above Greek epithets, while not conclusive, certainly suggest that the image of Greek Kronos was very similar to Semitic El and support the opinion of Philo of Byblos that El and Kronos were but one and the same god.

One final piece of information that unfortunately came to my attention too late to deal with in detail, but important enough to merit mention — as it seems to derive from Semitic myth, but also provides evidence for the probability that El was the original hero of the *Chaoskampf* tradition is the following passage attributed to Pherecydes (*ca.* 540 BCE):[115]

> Φερεκύδην δὲ πολλῷ ἀρχαιότερον γενόμενον Ἡρακλείτου μυθοποιεῖν στρατείαν στρατειᾳ παραταττομένην καὶ τῆς μὲν ἡγεμόνα Κρόνον ἀπο διδόναι, τῆς ἑτέρας δ' Ὀφιονέα, προκλήσεις τε καὶ ἀμίλλας αὐτῶν

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111 Delcor (1980: 87).

112 KAI 103:1; KAI 106:1; KAI 107:1.

113 Day (1989: 37-40).

114 Indeed his role as father of the gods implies that all the other deities (of the Ugaritic pantheon at least) were his children, perhaps also Athirat, so KTU 1.23:30ff.

115 Celsus *ap.* (Origen, *c. Celsum* vi, 42 [DK 7 B 4]). Cf. Apollonius Rhodos 1, 503.

ἱστορεῖν, συνθήκας τε αὐτοῖς γίγνεσθαι ἵν' ὁπότεροι αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν Ὠγηνὸν ἐμπέσωσι, τούτους μὲν εἶναι νενικημένους, τοὺς δ' ἐξώσαντας καὶ νικήσαντας, τούτους ἔχειν τὸν οὐρανόν.

Pherecydes, who lived much earlier than Heraclitus, made the myth that army was drawn against army, and he made Kronos leader of one and Ophioneus leader of the other, and told of their challenges and struggles, and that they made an agreement that whichever of them fell into Ogenos, was the vanquished, while those who cast them out and were victorious were to possess the sky.

CHAPTER SEVEN

El in the Incantations from Arslan Tash

AT 1:8-16[1]

krt ln ʾlt ʿlm	He has cut for us an eternal covenant.
ʾšr krt ln	Ašur has cut for us,
w kl bn ʾlm	and all the sons of El,
w rb. dr kl qdšn	and the multitude of the circle of all the Holy Ones.
w ʾlt šmm w ʾrṣ	And the covenant of heaven and earth
??[××]ʿlm	. . . eternal?[2]
b ʾlt bʿl[×××]n ʾrṣ	With the covenant of the lord ... earth,
b ʾlt[ʾ]št ḥwrn	with the covenant of the [wi]fe of Horon
ʾš tm py	whose word is perfect.
w šbʿ ṣrty	And the seven concubines
wšmnh ʾšt bʿl q[d]š	and eight wives of the H[ol]y Lord.

In 1939, the largest of two plaques bearing Phoenician incantations written in Aramaic script, in a mixed Phoenician/Aramaic dialect and dated to the seventh century BCE,[3] although 'probably earlier',[4] was published.[5] The

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1 AT 1 = KAI 27. Text, Pardee (1998a).

2 Perhaps here we should restore *wš*[mš] *ʿlm*, a common formula in documents containing treaty language, e.g. KAI 26 A:iii:18-19.

3 Albright (1939: 7).

4 Lipiński (1978: 249).

second text was published in 1971.[6] These texts were discovered amongst the ruins of the Assyrian town Ḥadattu, modern Arslan Tash in North Syria. The text of the largest tablet (AT 1) was initially described as 'an incantation to assist women in child-birth',[7] then as a contract between an enchanter and El and Asherah,[8] but has been subsequently shown to be a charm to protect the house against demons of the night,[9] with the Assyrian god Aššur identified instead of Asherah. Cross and Saley are probably correct in their suggestion that the largest plaque, at least, 'was a pagan prototype of the *mĕzūzāh*, the Israelite portal inscription'.[10] The second, smaller, plaque (AT 2) contains an incantation against the evil eye on one side and an incantation for rain on the other side.[11] Although neither text contains any epithets of El,[12] contrary to the suggestions of earlier studies,[13] the occurrence of the phrases *bn ʾlm, dr kl qdšn* in the first text and *bʿl ... mrkbty*, as well as mention of a character called *ḫnqtʾ*[14] and the 'evil eye' (*ʿyn*) are certainly reminiscent of Ugaritic religion.[15] Interesting also is the intriguing title *ʾl šyy*.

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5 Editio Princeps: Du Mesnil du Buisson (1939: 421-34). See also the later studies of Albright (1939: 5-11); Cross and Saley (1970: 42-6); Caquot and du Mesnil du Buisson (1971: 391-406); Gaster (1973: 18-26). For the most recent study of the tablet, see Pardee (1998a: 15-54).

6 Cacquot and du Mesnil du Buisson (1971: 391-406). See also Cross (1974: 486-90).

7 Albright (1939: 5).

8 Cross and Saley (1970: 47).

9 Lipiński (1978: 248).

10 Cross and Saley (1970:47). See also my suggestion *re* the inscriptions written on the plaster on the door jambs at Kuntillet ʿAjrud above.

11 Lipiński (1978: 249).

12 AT 1:15 may contain the epithet *qn ʾrṣ*, but damage to the text prevents any judgement. Besides, the epithet may be attributed to Baal in this text, rather than El. See Pardee (1998: 18).

13 See my discussion of *ʾl ʿwlm* above.

14 AT 1:4. Cf. *iltm ḫnqtm*, 'the two strangling goddesses', KTU 1.102:13.

15 Note that the numerical sequence 'seven ... eight' also occurs on the first tablet (AT 1:17-18), which is common in Ugaritic poetry as well as being found in Aramaic incantations and the Hebrew Bible, see Avishur (2000: 207).

Behind the phrase *bn ʾlm*,[16] stand the El titles found at Ugarit, *ab ilm* and *ab bn ilm*.[17] The following description of the divine council also betrays familiarity with religious ideas found at Ugarit, while the description of the covenant made between the votaries and the gods uses language familiar to us from treaty covenants from the early Iron Age.[18] The phrase *bn ʾlm* is also reminiscent of the Greek and Qumran texts of Deut. 32:8.[19] Indeed, the phrase is best translated as 'sons of El', with the final *-m* understood as enclitic rather than the plural marker.[20]

AT 2:1-6

lḥšt. l mzh.	Incantation against the Sprinkler.
bʿl ʾsr. mrkbty.	Baal has hitched his chariot,
w rb. ʿn ʾty.	and the Great Eye is with him.
ʾl. šyy [y]*ṣ*ʾ *ʾš. b šdh.*	*ʾl Šyy* attacks whoever is on the steppe,
w gl ʿn b šdh.	and the Goggle Eye is on the steppe.
ʾy. ʾl šyy. qdš	Where is *ʾl Šyy*, the Holy One?[21]

The epithet *ʾl šyy*, which occurs twice in the second amulet from Arslan Tash,[22] has previously been understood to mean 'Alashian' (*ʾlšyy*),[23] a

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16 AT 1:11.

17 See my discussion of these terms in the chapter devoted to El epithets in the Ugarit tablets.

18 Cf., for example, KAI 222.

19 See also KAI 26 A:iii:19; Ps. 29:1; 90:7.

20 Contra Gibson (1982: 83).

21 The final word of this line could just as easily be the start of the next phrase: *qdš nʿlt. mnʿl*, 'O Holy One, you have fastened the bolt...'.

22 AT 2:3; 5-6.

23 Gaster (1973: 19); Lipiński (1978: 250).

toponym,[24] an epithet of Baal[25] or, as Gaster suggested, the title of a 'a popular name for the child-stealing demon'.[26] Cross, however, found a word divider between *ʾl* and *šyy* in the first occurrence,[27] which he thought negated the possibility that a Cypriot magician is mentioned,[28] although scribal practice at Ugarit shows that the use of the word divider is not always consistent[29] and the double *y* at the end of the word is suggestive of a gentilic ending, just as we find on an economic tablet from Ugarit.[30] The identification of *ʾl šyy* with Baal finds no support in any text mentioning this god, although Gibson took it to be parallel with *bʿl ʾsr*, as did Avishur, apparently, although he did not suggest that *ʾl šyy* was an epithet of Baal.[31] Cross equated 'the epithet of the demon called "Big-Eye" (*rb ʿn*) ... and "Bug-Eye" or "Goggle-Eye"' (*gl ʿn*) as being parallel with the epithet *ʾl šyy*, which he took to mean 'Spoiler' ('the one of the spoil'), seeing *šy*, 'booty, spoil', from Can. *ʃʿy*.[32] Avishur disagreed with Cross' explanation of *šyy* and suggested an explanation from the Talmud with the word *šyyʾ*, which occurs in an incantation,[33] as well as the angelic name *šyh* found in a medieval Hebrew incantation book called *Ḥarbāʾ dʿ Mōšeh*. He also suggested that *šyyʾ* is the name of an angel and 'perhaps identical with *šwwʾ* (var. *šwwh*), one of the angels mentioned in "*sefer Hărāzîm*"',[34]

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24 As Caquot, Gaster and Lipiński, cited by Avishur (2000: 234).

25 See Gibson (1982: 90, n. 3). Avishur (200: 228) chose to leave the epithet untranslated: 'the God Šyy'.

26 Gaster (1951-1952: 134-7).

27 Cross (1974: 487, n. 9). Cross also thinks the double y cannot occur in Phoenician in a gentilic.

28 Gaster (1973).

29 This is particularly the case in personal names

30 KTU 4.352:2 (*alṯyy*). For the form *alṯy*, see, for example, KTU 4.155:3; KTU 4.149:8 and also Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín (1973: 81), who provide some examples from Alalaḫ.

31 Gibson (1982: 90, n. 3); Avishur (2000: 235).

32 Cross (1974: 488, n. 20).

33 *Shabbat* 67a.

34 For discussion, see Avishur (2000: 234-5).

Although this evidence is late, it does suggest that a divine being called *šyy* (or *šyy'*, *šww'*/*šwwh* and *šyh*) was known and the general description is of a god who casts out illness. Worthy of comparison, in the light of the parallels between the text of the Arslan Tash amulets and Ugaritic mythological texts, is the Ug. phrase, *w ġrm ṯtwy*,[35] which has been translated as '¿a (una) mesnada(s) darás órdenes?'[36] Deriving from √*ṯwy*, 'to rule, govern', which Gordon compares with Heb. *šwh* (= *mlk*) in Gen. 14:17.[37] This is attractive, given that *ʿmq šwh* is a place name and perhaps preserves an ancient DN in *šwh*, which may be cognate with AT *šyy*.[38] The gloss in the Hebrew text (*ʿmq hmlk*), translated as 'Valley of the king', may even identify such a deity as Moloch, a chthonian god and a worthy adversary against disease bringing demons. This view understands the definite article to be a secondary addition to the text. The King's Valley,[39] described by Josephus as two stadia distant from Jerusalem,[40] was probably the Kidron Valley, was where so-called foreign cults were practised, particularly those of Ashtoreth, Chemosh and Molech.[41] This was also the place where Israelite kings destroyed objects of unorthodox worship, probably associated with these gods.[42] Interestingly, The Genesis Apocryphon[43] calls the Valley of Shaveh/the king *bqʿt byt krm'*, 'the

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35 KTU 1.16:vi:[31], 44.

36 Del Olmo Lete (1981: 322).

37 *UT*, §. 19.2662.

38 For the change *w* > *y*, see Sekine (1973: 209).

39 Day (1989: 32) notes that the cult of Molech was practised in the Hinnom Valley, which meets the Kidron Valley. It is perhaps significant that the Tophet was located at the junction of the Hinnom, Kidron and Tyropoeon valleys, which Josiah destroyed (2 Ki. 23:10). Further, the Hinnom Valley was where kings Ahaz and Manasseh sacrificed their sons to Molech (2 Chr. 28:3; 33:6).

40 *Ant.* 7.10.3 §.243.

41 1 Ki. 11:7. See Mare (1987: 194-7).

42 1 Ki. 15:13; 2 Chr. 29:16; 30:14.

43 1QapGen. 22:13-14. See Fitzmyer (1971: 72; 173-4), respectively, for text and further discussion.

valley of the House of the Vineyard',[44] which may be connected, given its usual proximity to the threshing floor, with human or child sacrifice — a practice associated with Molech.[45]

Although the Arslan Tash amulets preserve no epithets of El, the information they possess concerning ancient Syro-Palestinian religion (of which we have barely scratched the surface) and, therefore, El religion is extremely rewarding and, like the plaster inscription from Deir ʿAlla, further evidence of continuity from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age of knowledge and most likely continuing veneration of El.

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[44] Mentioned also in Jer. 6:1. It was here that the 'stones for the Temple altar were dug out of the virgin soil (Mishnah, *Middoth* 3:4; *Niddah* 2:7), Fitzmyer (1971: 174).

[45] See my discussion of *grn* in the chapter above, which deals with Philo Byblos' traditions concerning Kronos. For in-depth treatment of the cult of Molech, see Day (1989).

CHAPTER EIGHT

El in the Proverbs of Ahiqar

The papyrus of Ahiqar,[1] found at Elephantine in 1907 is the only work of literature to emerge from the excavations at this ancient Jewish colony. A palimpsest, written over an erased Customs Account for year 11 (475 BCE), this manuscript represents the original language of composition, Aramaic, and the oldest text thus far discovered of this popular work. Fourteen columns from a possible twenty-one have survived.[2]

The text comprises two parts; a narrative, followed by a collection of wisdom sayings. Five columns of narrative remain from what may have originally comprised ten columns of text.[3] Set in the Assyrian court, and written in what Lindenberger termed as 'Standard Imperial Aramaic',[4] the narrative section 'blends two literary themes: the disgrace and rehabilitation of a wise minister, and the treachery of an ungrateful kinsman'.[5] Lindenberger

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1 P13446 (+ P13446 J = Cairo 43502. Lindenberger (1985 480).

2 Porten and Yardeni (1993: 23).

3 See the discussion of Porten and Yardeni (1993: 23).

4 Lindenberger (1982: 106).

5 Lindenberger (1985: 490). Similar themes are found in the Hebrew Bible, e.g. the Tale of Joseph (Gen. 37, 39-50), the books of Daniel and Esther.

further suggested the narrative originated in Mesopotamia, sometime prior to the mid-sixth century BCE, due to the absence of Persian loanwords.[6]

The wisdom sayings are preserved on the nine remaining columns, leaving two columns lost from Porten and Yardeni's proposed original manuscript of twenty-one columns.

Double forms of some of the sayings (42//44; 43//45), suggest a reasonably long period of transmission and copying in order that these double forms should emerge. Furthermore, archaic features of the language of the proverbs suggest an early date, possibly the beginning of the seventh century BCE. Canaanite influence points to a north Syrian origin for the sayings, as does the appearance of gods familiar to this area in some of the proverbs.[7]

The wisdom sayings mention El on no fewer than six or seven occasions,[8] but unfortunately, no epithets or titles occur, apart from the possibility that *rḥmn* describes El in the first of the sayings.[9] Greenfield doubted that *ʾl* in Ahiqar meant El, but offered no real argument to support such a view,[10] while Lindenberger showed that the word *ʾl* in *Ahiqar* is 'the proper name of the god El'.[11]

Sayings one and six are the only proverbs preserved (almost) complete. The remaining four are fragmentary. That El is indeed the deity mentioned in

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6 Lindenberger (1985: 482).

7 Greenfield (1971: 50); Lindenberger (1985: 482). For a discussion of the date and provenance of the text, of which the Elephantine papyrus is but a copy, see the discussion of Lindenberger (1982: 105-7; 1983: 3-40; 1985: 479-93).

8 Cols 6:14 (91); 7:20 (97); 8:28 (109); 10:69 (153), 70 (154), 71 (155) and 72 (157). The textual arrangement followed here is that of Porten and Yardeni (1993) = Lindenberger (1985: 502f.) 39 // 41; 40 // 42. I have also included Charlesworth's numbering of the sayings below.

9 Col. 6:14 (91).

10 Greenfield (1995: 50). For a discussion of the deities featured in *Ahiqar*, see Lindenberger (1982).

11 Lindenberger (1982: 108-9), he cited as evidence, KAI 214:2, 11, 18; KAI 215:22; KAI

each saying is confirmed by the fact that in Aramaic, the appellative 'god' was written *ʾlh* (emphatic *ʾlhʾ*).[12]

Four of the proverbs utilize what appears to be a formula. In two sayings the same construction is found: *lhn zy ʾl ʿmh*, 'except for one with whom El is' (sayings 1 and 5). This statement is negated by replacing the particle *lhn* with *w*, and adding the negative particle *lʾ*, yielding *wzy lʾ ʾl ʿmh*, 'but the one with whom El is not' (saying 2). This perhaps suggests that there may have originally existed a collection of sayings concerned with a comparison of these two conditions, perhaps all of which described El. Our last example of this construction is the adaptation of the formula to request a wish on the part of the speaker: *hqymny ʾl bṣdyq ʿmk*, 'raise me up, O El, in righteousness with you' (saying 3).

Ahiqar Saying 1[13]

mlk krḥmn	A king is like (the) Merciful One,
ʾp qlh gbh h[w]	moreover, his voice [is] high.
mn hw zy yqwm qdmwhy	Who is there who can stand before him,[14]
lhn zy ʾl ʿmh	but (he) with whom El is?

This, the most complete of the sayings, compares the king with a deity identified by the epithet *rḥmn*. The divine name El appears at the end of the saying as the god who will assist the petitioner in 'rising' or 'standing' (*qwm*)

222A:111, all Aramaic texts in which the DN *ʾl* occurs.

12 Lindenberger (1982: 108).

13 Ahiqar, Col. 6:91 = Charlesworth §. 107/25 (ii, 501).

14 Lindenberger (1983: 93; 1985: 501): 'who is there who could withstand him'. Porten and Yardeni (1993: 37) interpret the verb to mean 'serve him'.

before the king.[15] The image presented by the saying appears to be one of courtly procedure. The petitioner takes his case before the king who, like the deity called *rḥmn*, dispenses justice with a loud, clear, or exalted voice.[16] Lindenberger pointed out that this phrase could also refer to an adversary rising up against the king, or in defiance, with the support of El, presumably in his role as the divine warrior.[17] This interpretation is certainly possible, with the phrase *ʾl ʿmh* recalling the Hebrew name/cultic phrase *ʿmnw-ʾl*.[18] If this is the case, then perhaps the second interpretation, noted above, is to be preferred.

The epithet *rḥmn*, 'The Compassionate One', has been identified as belonging to El, partly on the basis of the parallels found in the Hebrew Bible, but in these passages, *ʾl* appears to be appellative rather than a personal name, for the god described thus is clearly Yahweh.[19] The other source to which scholars turned to for support that *ʾl* was known as *rḥmn* is the Ugaritic phrase *ltpn il d pid* (see discussion above), traditionally understood as semantically cognate with *rḥmn*. but the Ugaritic phrase has been shown to refer to El's wisdom rather than his compassion.

Greenfield, thought that *rḥmn* referred to Hadad, on the basis that the Assyrian king is compared with Marduk, who is called ^{d}*Bel rēmānû*.[20] But this saying, like the one following it in the collection[21] — as Greenfield admitted,

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15 Cowley translates this last phrase (which he notes 'occurs several times, but its meaning is doubtful') as 'except one who is like him', while Ginsberg (*ANET*, 427-30) agrees with the translation above, as does Porten and Yardeni (1993)

16 Cowley (1919: 89): 'even his voice is high'; Ginsberg (1950): 'his voice also is loud'.

17 Lindenberger (1983: 93).

18 Isa. 7:14; 8:8.

19 Ex. 34:6; Joel 2:13; Jon. 4:2; Neh. 9:31; Ps. 86:15. Yahweh is described similarly in Ps. 103:8; 111:4; 112:4; 145:8; 2 Chr. 30:9. One passage uses *ʾlwh*, Neh. 9:17.

20 Greenfield (1995: 49). The king envisaged in the sayings, he observed, was Esarhaddon.

21 Lindenberger (1983: 94), saying 26.

compares the king with Shamash, the divine judge.[22] Further, Esarhaddon was a devotee of Shamash, who also bore the title *rēmēnû*, as did all of the major Assyrian gods.[23] It would appear that the deity called *rḥmn* in this text is Shamash rather than El.[24]

Personal names combining *rḥm* and *ʾl*, are attested in Amorite (from Mari): *Ya-arḫa-am*-AN, *Ir-ḫa-mi*-AN, *Ir-ḫa-mi-la* and *Ir-ḫa-mi-il-la*;[25] Biblical and Extrabiblical Hebrew, *yrḥmʾl*, 'El showed compassion';[26] Aramaic: *rḥymʾl*, 'Beloved of El';[27] and Arabic *raḥima*, 'Beloved (of DN)'.[28] These names all feature a verbal form of *rḥm*, which describes an action performed by El, rather than a quality of his character. Therefore, it would seem that the meaning 'compassion' is not intended, but rather El's association with procreation and childbirth (see saying 2 below).

Ahiqar Saying 2[29]

[××]*mn* [d]*šśy bṭn* ...	[do]ors of the [be]lly,
wzy lʾ ʾl ʿmh mn yhw[××]*ʾnhy*	but him with whom El is not, who will ... him?

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22 See here the Akk. phrase, *šarru ki-ma* ^{d}[*šá-maš*], 'the king is like Šamaš', Lindenberger (1983: 244, n. 264).

23 Greenfield (1995: 50).

24 Lindenberger (1982: 110, n. 31).

25 Huffmon (1967: 162-5; 261).

26 BH: Jer. 36:26. The name also occurs as a gentilic: 1 Sam. 27:10; 30:29; 1 Chr. 2:9, 25-27, 33, 42; 24:29. EB: bulla from Beit Mirsim, *AHI*, §. 100.508. The Hebrew tribal name *rḥm* (1 Chr. 2:44), most likely means 'vulture'.

27 Murašu, no. 23. See Lindenberger (1982: 108, n. 21) and Fowler (1988: 324).

28 Pardee (1989-1990: 407).

29 Ahiqar, Col. 7:20 = Charlesworth §. 161/70 (ii, 505).

This saying is incomplete. However, the phrase 'doors of the belly' followed by the formula in the negative, noted above (El is not with him), does suggest knowledge of El's role in *Keret* and *Aqhat*, as one who grants children to the childless, or even assists in the act of childbirth.[30] This also corresponds with the god of the Hebrew Bible, who also functions in this manner, particularly in the Patriarchal narratives[31] as well as in Job, where the phrase *dlty-bṭn*, 'doors of the belly/womb', occurs.[32]

Ahiqar Saying 3[33]

hqymny ʾl bṣdyq ʿmk l[	O El, raise me up in righteousness with you ...

Lindenberger translated this fragmentary saying as, 'Establish me, O El, as a righteous man with you!' Unfortunately the fragmentary state of the text does not reveal the context of this phrase, so all attempts at restoration are speculative. In personal names, we find *ṣdq* compounded with the DN *ʾl* in Amorite[34] and Ugaritic,[35] while in Phoenician inscriptions *ṣdq* is used to describe the king's loyalty to the gods.[36]

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30 Cf. KTU 1.24:40–50.

31 Note the phrase *pry-bṭn*, Gen. 30:2; Deut. 7:13; 28:4, 11, 18, 53; 30:9; Isa. 13:18; Micha 6:7; Ps. 127:3.

32 Job 3:10. See also Prov. 18:8; 20:27, 30, where the phrase *ḥdry-bṭn*, lit. 'rooms of the belly/womb' is used to signify one's inner parts.

33 Ahiqar, Col. 8:28 = Charlesworth §. 173/78 (ii, 506).

34 Huffmon (1967: 256), *ṣi*-[i]*d-qa-an*(?); *l-li-ṣí-id-qí* and *l-li-ṣí-id-qum*.

35 *ilṣdq* (KTU 4.215:4; KTU 4.628:1; KTU 4.226:9; KTU 4.704:6); *ṣdqil* (KTU 4.63:iii:4; KTU 4.340:[17]; KTU 4.383:9; KTU 4.754:2).

36 KAI 4:6; KAI 10:9. Both passages refer to *yḥ(w)mlk*, king of Byblos.

Ahiqar Saying 4[37]

npšk ʾl yrḥm[	... your soul, El will love ...

There is not enough of this saying to make more than a few brief observations. This saying may not mention El, but rather feature the negative particle *ʾl*: 'do not love'.[38] Alternatively, *npš* may be the subject of the following verb (*rḥm*), 'let not thy soul love'.[39] Unfortunately nothing more may be stated about this, but it is worth noting that Yahweh is the subject of this verb on a few occasions.[40]

Ahiqar Saying 5[41]

yrpwn hmw	... he will heal/loosen them,
lhn zy ʾl ʿmh.[	but he with whom El is.[42]

This saying is incomplete, but obviously mentions El (compare the formula saying 1 above). As Lindenberger noted, there may be a parallel between this saying and the passage in *Keret*, where El is involved in the healing of Keret.[43] El is apparently the one 'healed' in the Marzihu text, but the fragmentary nature of the text in this section makes any interpretation provisional.[44] Also

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37 Ahiqar Col. 10:69 = Charlesworth §. 153/63 (ii, 505).

38 Lindenberger (1983: 153).

39 Suggested by Sachau and followed by Cowley, cited in Lindenberger (1983: 153).

40 E.g. Deut. 13:18; 30:3; 2 Ki. 13:23 (// *ḥnn*); Isa. 14:1; 27:11; etc.

41 Ahiqar Col. 10:70 = Charlesworth §. 154/64 (ii, 505).

42 Lindenberger (1983: 154) understood a question here: 'Who can heal them but one with whom El is?'

43 KTU 1.16:v:25-28. Lindenberger (1983: 154).

44 KTU 1.114:28.

in the Hebrew Bible, we find Moses asking Yahweh to heal Miriam of her leprosy with the words *ʾl nʾ rpʾ nʾ*, 'O El/God, please heal her'.[45]

The verb *rpʾ*, 'to heal', is associated with El in personal names, such as Amorite *Ì-lí-ra-pi*,[46] Ugaritic *ilrpi*[47] and *rpil*,[48] BH and Aram. *yrpʾl* 'Let El heal', 'El heals' or 'El has healed'.[49]

Ahiqar saying 6[50]

yhšḥtwn ydy	Let my hands destroy,
wʾl pmy wʾl[	and not my mouth and not/El ...

Although Lindenberger noted this saying is 'unintelligible', he noted that 'El ... appears the preceding and following sayings'.[51] His suggestion of a possible translation for this saying, 'and El (will mutilate?) my mouth', recalls our saying no. 7 below.[52]

Ahiqar Saying 7[53]

yʾpk ʾl pm ʾpkʾ	'El will twist the mouth of the twister

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45 Nu. 12:13.

46 Huffmon (1967: 264).

47 KTU 347:7.

48 KTU 4.102:24, *rpi*[I].

49 Josh. 18:27; Bordreuil (1993: 93-4), no. 33, respectively. The LXX for 1 Chr. 3:21, suggests that the variants Ραφαλ and Ραφελ, (MT *rpyhi*), most likely preserve the original form of the name.

50 Ahiqar Col. 10:71 = Charlesworth §. 155/65 (ii, 505).

51 Lindenberger (1983: 155).

52 He also offered (1983: 155) the alternatives 'My hands *shall destroy* (or: they shall mutilate my hands) and *to* my mouth (??) and *to* (??) ...'. See Lindenberger (1983: 264, n. 464) for an alternative interpretation.

53 Ahiqar Col. 10:72 = Charlesworth §. 156/66 (ii, 505).

wynsḥ lšn[and tear out the tongue of ...'.

The final saying from Ahiqar that mentions El, describes him as a god who preserves the fidelity of the oath and punishes the individual who does not respect it.[54] The saying is incomplete and has, therefore, been subject to various suggestions regarding its interpretation. For example, Kottsieper restored a nominal derivation from *nsḥ* to the text, no doubt influenced by the parallel use of a verb and a noun derived from *ʾlhpk*,[55] yielding: '*El möge den Mund des Betrügers verderben und die Zunge [desjenigen, der (sein Wort) widerruft,] ausreißen*'.[56] Lindenberger, following Cowley,[57] restored a pronominal suffix to *lšn*: 'May El twist the mouth of the treacherous, and tear out his tongue'.[58] And, Porten and Yardeni: 'El will twist the mouth of the twister (= treacherous) and tear out the tongue of...'.[59] Two other sayings from *Ahiqar* are worthy of comparison with this one.[60]

Greenfield saw here a reference to something more than simple punishment. He suggested that the traditional translations do not clarify the meaning of the word *ʾpk*, with the question, 'does he (El) twist words or does he go back on his words?'.[61] This view is interesting, particularly for the Ugaritic passages where Shapsh uses the verb *hpk* to describe El's possible actions against Athtar and Mot: *l yhpk ksa mlkk*, which is generally understood to mean, 'he shall overturn the seat of your kingship',[62] should be seen to be

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54 Greenfield (1971).

55 Greenfield (1971: 51, and n. 5).

56 Kottsieper (1990: 10): *yʾpk ʾl pm ʾpkʾ wynsḥ lšn nsḥʾ*.

57 Cowley (1919: 93).

58 Lindenberger (1985: 505).

59 Porten and Yardeni (1993: 45).

60 Sayings 37 (123b-124a); 39 (126), Lindenberger (1982: 107).

61 Greenfield (1970: 51ff.).

62 KTU 1.2:iii:15-20 // KTU 1.6:vi:22-31. The meaning, 'change, transform', may also be

the threat that El will overturn his decision to let either god rule.

Greenfield noted the use of *hpk* in the Sefire inscription,[63] where the sense is to overturn, or defy the terms of the treaty. This is supported by Akk. *abāku*, 'to turn upside down, reverse, upset, etc.'[64] Similarly, in the Hebrew Bible, where a curse is turned into a blessing, or mourning into joy.[65] The idea of deceit is present in one biblical passage and supported by the parallel use of *ʾmn*.[66] So, the general meaning of the verb is 'to change/reverse a verbal decision/agreement'.[67] This is exactly the scenario envisaged by Shapsh in both passages above.[68] As Greenfield noted, 'the *ʾappāka* then ... is not simply a "twister of words" but one who continuously does not keep his oath and goes back upon his word'.[69]

He further noted legal texts where the punishment for such a person is described and in particular those that described the tongue being the object of punishment.[70] In *Aqhat*, it is the jaw of the slanderer that the dutiful son must

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detectable in KTU 1.86:7; KTU 1.103:52.

63 KAI 222C:19-20. Greenfield (1971: 51).

64 Greenfield (1971: 52); *CDA*, 1.

65 Deut. 23:6 and Jer. 31:13.

66 Deut. 32:20 (*hpk* // *ʾmn*).

67 Athtar is named king, but is ill-equiped to take office. Perhaps the text recounting the Baal-Mot conflict, like that describing the struggle between Baal-Yam included Mot being named king of the gods. However, such an episode, if it did exist, has been lost.

68 Cf. also 1 Macc. 6:72 and a Syriac contract from Dura, l. 15. Cited in Greenfield (1971: 52).

69 Greenfield (1971: 52). Is there a connection here with the Gk. epithet of Kronos, ἀγκυλομήτης? Elsewhere in the Sefire inscription (KAI 222C:21-22), not just El but all the gods are invoked to 'overturn' the individual, his house and all his possessions as punishment for breaking the oath. Greenfield (1971: 56) also noted that in the Hebrew Bible, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is described by the verb *hpk*, while mountains also feel the force of this verb.

70 Greenfield (1971: 54 and nn. 4-5; 55 and nn. 1-5; 56 and nn. 1-2), nos. 2 (Ishchali), 3 (Harmal), 4 (Elam), 5 (Hana), 8 (Nuzi) and 9 (Ugarit, *PRU* iii, no. 16249, p. 98, l. 34). See also Prov. 10:31-2.

shut, which is certainly comparable with this saying above.[71]

While there is no epithet of El in this saying, there is certainly important information regarding his character, especially as a god of justice.

The sayings of Ahiqar, although not preserving any epithets of El, certainly show that those where El is featured most certainly refer to the El we find elsewhere in West Semitic literature and personal names, particularly his role in child-birth and as the head of the divine pantheon and patron of kings. It should be assumed that more sayings mentioning El were included in this text and that undoubtedly they used epithets to describe El, although they have now been lost.

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[71] Cf. KTU 1.17:i:28-29 +//s.

CHAPTER NINE

An epithet of El in the Homs Amulet, Syria

An incantation from Homs in Syria,[1] calls El *ʾdwn ʾlwhyn*, 'Lord/Master of the gods' or, perhaps, 'Father of the gods':

Homs Amulet[2]

1	*yh lwʾ ʾyl ʾdwn ʾlwhyn*	Oh, Oh that El, Lord of gods,
	ʾlwhyn ʾlhwtʾ × × ×	goddesses, divinity (*magic signs*)
	× × × × × ×	(*magic characters and signs*)
	× × × × × ×	(*magic characters and signs*)
	× × × × × ×	(*magic characters and signs*)
	prqʾ rwḥʾ mn srʾ brt bbwʾ	may (you) remove the (evil) spirit from Sara daughter of Bobwa.

The word *ʾd(w)n*, 'king, lord, master, father', is used frequently as a divine epithet in the Semitic world and needs no preliminary discussion regarding its origin or etymology.[3]

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1 Kotansky (cited and followed by Naveh [2002: 249]), thought the language of the text to be Syriac.

2 Text and translation: Naveh (2002: 249), no. 5:1-6.

3 This epithet is preserved particularly in personal names such as Ug. *a-du-ni-*^{d}U (**adnbʿl*) and *adnṣdq* (Gröndahl [1967: 90]); Ph. *ʾdnbʿl* and *ʾdnšmš* (Benz [1972: 56-9]).

El was no different in this respect. In the Ugaritic texts, El is called *adn*,[4] in which *adn* may quite easily be translated as 'king, lord or master',[5] although the sequence *qny w adn bn ilm*, 'Progenitor and Father of the sons of El (gods)', suggests that at Ugarit the meaning 'father' is also a distinct possibility for the meaning of *adn* with respect to its use as an epithet of El.[6]

A votive inscription from Umm el-Awamid calls El *ʾdn*,[7] while in Punic, the formula *lʾdn lbʿl ḥmn*[8] confirms that the epithet *ʾdn* was applied to El throughout the Semitic world. However, in the Hebrew Bible, the epithet *ʾdwn(y)* is reserved for Yahweh, often occurring in sequence with *ṣbʾwt*,[9] which again suggests that in these passages the meaning 'king' is implied, for it is, after all, as Yahweh Sabaoth that he sits enthroned,[10] and perhaps the obvious comparison between the use of this title to describe the earthly king and to describe the god as the divine king.[11] This epithet has also been recognized as the West Semitic equivalent of Akk. *bēl* (= WS *bʿl*) and should, for this reason, be compared with such titles of El that begin with *bʿl*, such as Baal Hammon.

Interestingly, the frequency of the DN *ʾl* in Ammonite PNs causes one to wonder whether the Ammonite names *ʾdnnr* (CAI 40:1) and *ʾdnplṭ* (CAI 17:1) describe El by means of the epithet *ʾdn*. In Hebrew, there are the names *ʾdnybzq* (Ju. 1:5-7); *ʾdnyṣdq* (Josh. 10:13) and *ʾdnyh* (2 Sam. 3:4; 1 Ki. 1:5, 7, 18; etc.). De Moor (1982: 183), suggested that the occurrence of *adn* in KTU 1.16:i:44, should be understood as a reference to a deity. See also my discussion of *ʾdn* in my chapters on epithets in Ugaritic and Phoenician above.

4 *adn bn ilm*, KTU 1.3:v:8-9.

5 *adn // mlk* (KTU 1.16:i:57, 60); *// bʿl* (KTU 1.2:i:17, 34, 45).

6 See the similar use of *adn* in KTU 1.24:13, 33. In this text the meaning 'father' is obviously meant. For a discussion of the various occurrences of *adn* in Ugaritic, see Sanmartín (1977).

7 Text: Magnanini (1973: 16, no. 2).

8 CIS i. 4905.

9 See e.g., Hab. 3:19; Ps. 68:21; 109:21; 140:8; 141:8; Isa. 10:23, etc.

10 1 Sam. 4:4.

11 Cf. Josh. 3:11, 13, etc.

CHAPTER TEN

El in Ammonite Religion

Here I shall discuss the possibility that the theophoric element *mlkm*, is an epithet of El.[1] Although I believe the language of the Deir ʿAlla inscription to be Ammonite, I have restricted discussion of the plaster inscriptions discovered there to a separate chapter, owing to the controversy over the linguistic affiliation of this material.[2]

Day[3] discussed the view of Gray[4] that Milcom is to be identified with the god Molek, a god of human sacrifice,[5] although his conclusion was that the two gods are distinct. This view was based upon his belief that the 'Old Testament clearly distinguishes the two deities: it speaks of Milcom when referring to the national god of the Ammonites and Molech when alluding to human sacrifice'.[6] He quoted 2 Ki. 23:10 and 13 as evidence of this, but the use of *lmlk* in verse 10 does necessarily refer to a god, but may be interpreted as the kind of sacrifice rather than signifying the god to whom such a sacrifice

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1 Tigay (1986: 19 and n. 60); Daviau and Dion (1994: 164, n. 17).

2 See Chapter 12 below.

3 Day (1989: 31-3).

4 Gray (1965: 171-3).

5 See also my brief discussion of *mlk* in Chapter seven above.

6 Day (1989: 32). For the view that the word *molēk* does not imply human sacrifice, see Weinfeld (1972a). However, his refutation is based mostly upon Medieval Jewish exegesis and cannot, therefore, be sustained.

was performed: *lhʿbyr ʾyš ʾt-bnw wʾt-btw bʾš lmlk*, 'to cause his son or daughter to pass through fire as a molek offering'.[7]

This interpretation is consonant with the Phoenicio-Punic evidence, where the word *mlk* (ptcpl. of *hlk*) is used to describe a particular type of sacrifice.[8] This term is found on inscriptions dating from the seventh century BCE to the third century CE and the fact that the term occurs in Phoenician allows for the probability that it passed into Hebrew.[9] It should also be noted that the term occurs in conjunction with the recipient of the sacrifice: Baal Hammon.[10] Such an observation, when applied to the biblical text mentioned above, although it does not identify the recipient as Milkom, certainly suggests that the sacrifice was not made to a god called Molek. Verse 13 mentions Molek as the national god of the Ammonites, but it does not distinguish between a god named Milkom and one named Molek. Day's suggestion that 'the Old Testament consistently indicates that (Milcom) ... was appropriated from the Canaanites whereas (Molech) ... is god of the Ammonites',[11] seems to suggest that Ammonite religion was unrelated to Canaanite religion, but the list of gods found in the onomasticon clearly indicates that Ammonite religion was Canaanite in its origin.[12] Further, it is clearly evident from analysis of the Ammonite language that it derives from the Canaanite branch of West

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7 2 Ki. 23:10b.

8 See here Heider (1985).

9 For *mlk* on inscriptions see, e.g., KAI 99:1-2 (Ph.); KAI 61B:1-2 (Pu.); KAI 103:1-2 (N. Pu.); KAI 106:1-2 (N. Pu.).

10 KAI 61B:1-2; KAI 103:1-2; KAI 106:1-2, etc.

11 Day (1989: 32).

12 See here the discussion of Aufrecht (1999a: 156-7), who listed the various deities found in Ammonite personal names as: ʾAdon, ʿAddin, ʿAli, ʿAnat, ʾAšima, ʿAstarte, Baʿal, Bes, Dagon, Gad, Haddad (ʾAdad), Inurta (Ninurta), ʾIl, Milkom, Mot, Nanaya, Ner, Qos, Rimmon, Šamaš, Šid, Yahweh, Yam and Yerah, most of whom are gods found in the Canaanite pantheon.

Semitic, standing closer to Phoenician than any of the other languages.[13]

If Milkom was the national deity of the Ammonites, as the Hebrew Bible alleges, the episode in Genesis, where Lot is credited as the father of both the Moabites and Ammonites is surely worthy of note.[14] The character of Lot has been identified as a form of El,[15] while the sheer number of personal names compounded with the DN *ʾl* in the Ammonite onomasticon,[16] suggests that if the biblical writers were attempting to polemicize against the name Milkom, it is distinctly possible that the deity they were referring to was El, who bore the epithet *mlk*.[17] The final *-m* on Ammonite *mlkm* should, therefore, be understood as enclitic and the Ammonite divine name Milkom seen to be an epithet of El.[18]

The divine name or epithet *mlkm* is attested on one seal[19] and on one Ammonite inscription — albeit restored, there is no reason to doubt this restoration:

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13 Aufrecht (1999b: 171).

14 Gen. 19:30-38, esp. vss. 37-38.

15 Cutler and MacDonald (1982: 33-50). The similarities between the biblical text and KTU 1.23, are that in both there is one male figure to two female figures, verbal communication between characters (theophany) takes place as a prelude to sexual intercourse (*hieros gamos*?). Most scholars see El as being old (as indeed both Abraham and Lot are portrayed in the biblical tradition), wine is mentioned in both texts, there is a description of desert wandering (implied in Gen. 19 through the descendants), and two sons (theogony) are the result. The biblical version of these themes have, like the Ugarit text, been punctuated with ritual elements in the covenant sections that separate the account of Ishmael from that of Isaac.

16 *ʾlʾwr; ʾwrʾ; ʾwrʾl; ʾlʾr; yʿʾzrʾl; ʾlʾ; ʾlʾmṯ; ʾlʾmr; ʾmrʾl; ʾmr; ʾlʾmt; ʾlybr; ʾlydn; ʾlyʿm; ʾlyš; ʾlmg; ʾlmšl; ʾlndb; ʾlnr; ʾlntn; ʾlʿz; ʾlʿzr; ʾlrm; ʾlšgb; ʾlšmʿ; ʾlš; ʾltmk; ʾlš; ʾltmk; ʾmrʾl; bdʾl; bydʾl; brkʾl; ḥṣlʾl; zkrʾl; ḫzʾl; ḫnnʾl; yšʿʾl; mgrʾl; [m]kʾl; mrʾl; ndbʾl; nʿmʾl; [n]tnʾl; ʿdʾl; ʿzyʾ[l]; ʿzrʾl; ʿlyh; ʿmṣʾl; ʿnʾl; ʿšnʾl; pdʾl; šbʾl; tmkʾl.* See *CAI*, for refs. Daviau and Dion (1994: 164) noted the observation of Aufrecht that 'El is the theophoric element in 54 out of 73 names found on Ammonite seals.

17 Pope (1955: 26) noted that *mlk* was 'an epithet of El in most cases'.

18 See also Daviau and Dion (1994), who discuss a fragmentary plaque of a bearded god wearing an Atef-crown they identify as El.

19 The seal from Tell el-ʿUmeiri containing the name *mlkmʾr*, Herr (1989: 369-74).

Amman Citadel Inscription

m]*lkm. bnh. lk. mbʾt. sbbt*[	Mi]lkom, he has built for you the precinct entrances[
]. *kkl. msbb ʿlk. mt ymtn*[	]that all who threaten you shall surely die[
]*kḥd. ʾkḥd*[ ]*wkl. mʿrb*[	]I shall surely obliterate, and all who enter[
]*wbkl. sdrt ylnn ṣdq*[m	]and amidst all its columns the just will lodge[
]*l. tdlt bdlt. bṯn kbh*[	]L. there will hang from its doors an ornament KBH[
]*h. tśʿ. bbn. ʾlm*	]H. will be offered within its portico
]*w ś*[ ]h. *wn*[	]????
]*šlm. lk wš*[lm	]peace to you and pe[ace . . .[20]

[20] Text and translation: Fulco (1978: 41).

CHAPTER ELEVEN

El in the Deir ʿAlla Plaster Inscriptions

In 1967 amongst the ruins of a religious complex located at Tell Deir ʿAlla in the east Jordan Valley, fragmentary remains of a plaster inscription were discovered by the excavation team led by H. Franken and fully published in 1976 by Hoftijzer and van der Kooij.[1]

The language of the inscription was originally identified as, and indeed bears some relationship to, Aramaic, but is more than likely Ammonite, dated to the late eighth or early seventh century BCE.[2] From the reassembled fragments, two major textual combinations have emerged (DAT 1 and 2), both of which suggest a religious continuity with the pantheon known at Ugarit,[3] as well as some relationship with the biblical traditions concerning the seer Balaam (*ḥzh ʾlhn*)[4] and the divine appellative *šdy*.[5] Just how far reaching are

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1 For further discussion and bibliography, see the studies of Hackett (1980; 1984; 1984a; 1986); Moore (1990: esp. 66-96); Hoftijzer and Van der Kooij (1976; 1991); Lutzky (1999); Levine (2000: 140).

2 Coogan (1987: 116-8 and 122, n. 12), agreeing with Noth, convincingly rejected the likelihood that the biblical traditions are to be dated to the second millennium, as proposed by Albright (1944).

3 The principle god of the Deir ʿAlla inscription is El, the other gods, called *ʾlhn // šdyn* (cf. Deut. 32:17), assemble in the divine assembly, just as we find at Ugarit and also in the Hebrew Bible (Josh. 8:14). The goddess *šgr w ʿštr*, corresponds to Ug. *šgr w itm* (KTU 1.148:31).

4 See Nu. 22-24. Also Nu. 31:8, 16; Deut. 23:5-6; Josh. 13:22; 24:9-10; Neh. 13:2; Micah 6:5.

these traditions, is hinted at by Philo of Alexandria, who calls Balaam 'a Mesopotamian famous for divination'.[6]

El is mentioned in the combined fragments comprising the Deir ʿAlla plaster inscription at least three times.[7] Due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription, it is almost impossible to determine whether any of the remaining vocabulary on the two major combinations comprising this text is applied to El as epithets, titles, or descriptions of his actions or characteristics. However, the fragments do provide evidence that some of the epithets used to convey characteristics of El at Ugarit are hinted at in the text of the fragments from Deir ʿAlla.

Combination 1

In the first Combination of fragments (DAT 1), the seer Balaam receives a visit during the night by the gods (*ʾlhn*), who report the pronouncement of El regarding a meeting of the divine council convened, presumably, to decide the future of humanity.[8] The news is one of disaster and Balaam, after a period of grief, informs his people of the forthcoming event, which appears to be one of chaos and confusion. Here we shall only discuss the portion of the text that provides information regarding El:

DAT 1:1-2; 5-8

wyʾtw. ʾlhn. blylh.	Now the gods came to him at night,

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5 In Nu. 24:4 Balaam is described as 'one who hears the words of El (*ʾmry-ʾl*) and sees visions of Shaddai (*mḥzh šdy*)', while in verse 16, the supplement 'one who gains knowledge from Elyon (*yḏʿ dʿt ʿlywn*) is included. See Lutzky (1998) and my discussion below for the suggestion that *šdy* occurs in DAT 1:6.

6 Philo, *V.M.* 1.264.

7 DAT 1:2; 2:6 (× 2).

8 Cf. Isa. 64:10.

wyḥz. mḥzh. kmš². ²l	and he saw a vision as an oracle of El.
wy²mrw. l[bl^{c}]*m. br b^{c}r.*	They said to Balaam son of Beor,
kh. yp^{c}l[ ].	'Thus it will be done [...]
²ḥr²h. ²š . lr[ ]	afterwards which to/no ? ...
[ ]^{c}*t*[.]	...'
...	...

(Balaam speaks to his audience):

šbw. ²ḥwkm. mh. šd[yn. p^{c}lw.]	'Sit, I will reveal to you what the Shadda[yin have done],
wlkw. r²w. p^{c}lt. ²lhn.	come, see the deeds of the gods.
²l[h]*n. ²tyḥdw. wnṣbw.*	The go[d]s assembled and took their place,
šdyn. mw^{c}d.	the Shaddayin, in council
w²mrw. lš[××]	and they said to Š[××]:
tpry. skry. šmyn. b^{c}bky.	"Sew up, seal the sky with clouds
šm. ḥšk. w²l. ngh. ^{c}lm.	so that there is darkness and no brightness — everlasting".'

The phrase *mḥzh kmš² ²l* in our text is very reminiscent of BH *mḥzh šdy*, which occurs in the Balaam narrative in *Numbers*.[9] Interestingly, in the biblical text, *²l* occurs parallel with both *^{c}lywn* and *šdy*, while the oracle is specifically described as knowledge from Elyon, an epithet of El:[10]

Nu. 24:4	Nu. 24:16
n²m šm^{c} ²mry-²l	*n²m šm^{c} ²mry-²l*

9 Nu. 24:4, 16.

10 Interestingly, *mḥzh* occurs in Ezek. 13:7, in the context of false prophecy. While Balaam's characterization as a 'blind seer', in Nu. 22:21-30 is surely comparable, it is worth noting that the only use of *mḥzh* that cannot be understood to refer to false prophecy is when it describes Yahweh's appearance to Abraham (Gen. 15:1).

	wydᶜ dᶜt ʿlywn
ʾšr mḥzh šdy	*mḥzh šdy*

Word of him who hears the speech of El
(and knows the knowledge of Elyon)
(who) sees visions of Shaddai.[11]

Moore noted that although the divine council of the Deir ʿAlla plaster inscription imparts an oracle of El to Balaam, there is no specific mention that El is the head of this council. He observed, however, that 'El does appear as the primary deity in DAT 2:6', as well as noting that the oracle delivered to Balaam is from El, with the conclusion that 'when these references are taken together, it becomes very difficult to imagine any other deity in control of these heavenly proceedings'.[12] Oracles are elsewhere associated with El.[13] In Ugaritic mythology El had an oracle regarding Baal's restoration to life,[14] while Tertullian preserved the tradition from a lost work of Aristotle that a dreaming Kronos (identified as El by Philo of Byblos) advised Zeus over his governance of the earth by means of oracle.[15]

The parallel pair *ʾlhn // šdyn*,[16] suggests also a relationship with El when one recalls the statement of Philo of Byblos that the allies of El were called

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[11] The text extraneous to the parallels is in parenthesis.

[12] Moore (1990: 83).

[13] E.g. Gen. 15:1, noted above.

[14] KTU 1.6:iii:1-20.

[15] Tertullian, *De Anima* 46.10; Plutarch, *De facie in orbe lunae* 26.941aff.; Aristotle, *Protrepticus* Fr. 12 Ross; B 43 Dürung. For discussion and references, see Bos (1989).

[16] DAT 1:5/6 *šdyn // ʾlhn :: ʾlhn // šdyn*. Contrary to many interpreters of this text, e.g. Sasson (1986: 306-9); Lemaire (2000: 141), I do not see evidence of any conflict between the *šdyn* and *ʾlhn*, but rather that both words are set in parallelism and refer to the same class of deity.

Ἐλωειμ, just as those of Kronos were called Κρόνιοι,[17] worthy of comparison with DAT *šdyn*, 'Shaddayin', which may indeed derive from the epithet *šdy*, which appears to function as a DN on some occasions in biblical Hebrew.[18] The information in lines 1-2 that the *ʾlhn* bring the pronouncement of *ʾl*, is evidence that the pantheon of the inscription is similar to that of Ugarit, in that the head of both pantheons is none other than El.

The phrase *šdyn pʿlw // pʿlt ʾlhn* is reminiscent of BH *pʿl ʾl*, *ypʿl ʾl* and *pʿl ʾlhym*[19] supporting further the similarities in the traditions preserved at Deir ʿAlla and in the Hebrew Bible, although the passage from *Numbers* suggests that Israel has no need of a diviner such as Balaam, for Yahweh informs his people of his plans directly.

The parallel pair *ʾlhn ... wnṣbw // šdyn mwʿd* may be compared with the Ugaritic phrase *ʿdt ilm*,[20] as well as the biblical phrase *ʾlhym nṣb bʿdt ʾl*, 'the gods stand in the council of El', which occurs in the famous Psalm believed to have originally been dedicated to Baal.[21] That the biblical writers know of El's divine council is further evinced in the Isaianic phrase *bhr-mwʿd byrkty ṣpwn*, 'On the mountain of the council in the recesses of Saphon'.[22]

Harriet Lutzky proposed the restoration *š*[dy], 'Shaddai', to DAT 1:8 rather than the more commonly preferred Shagar, who is understood as a hypostasis of Ishtar and Venus and known at Ugarit by the binomial Šagar-wa-ʿAštar.[23] This makes better sense than restoring Shaddai, because it is the planet Venus who heralds daylight. Her sealing up of the sky would prevent such daylight

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17 *PE* 1.10.20. The Greek transcription Ἐλωειμ, is phonologically closer to Hebrew *ʾlhym* (*ʾĕlōhîm*) than Ph. *ʾlnm* (*ʾallōnîm*), *ʾlm* (*ʾēlīmî*) or *ʾln* (*ʾallōn*).

18 See Ezek. 1:24; Job 6:14; 22:23, 25; 24:1; 31:35; 37:23 (although *šdy* may be parallel with *ʾlh* in v. 22); Ps. 68:15.

19 Nu. 23:23, Job 33:29a and Isa. 64:10, respectively.

20 KTU 1.15:ii:7, 11.

21 Ps. 82:1.

22 Isa. 14:13.

23 Lutzky (1998: 26-30).

occurring, bringing the eternal darkness mentioned. However, as Caquot and Lemaire pointed out, *šgr* does not have the authority to carry out such a task and preferred to restore *šmš* to the text, pointing out that at Ugarit this deity is female.[24] This was countered by McCarter, who thought that the sun-goddess would not be the one to prevent light appearing and suggested instead that the personification of Sheol should be restored.[25] Hackett preferred the sun-goddess as a likely candidate and suggested a further possibility in the Hurrian goddess *Šala*, who is 'usually pictured in Mesopotamia along with the storm god Adad and (is) now also known ... from the Tell Fakhariyeh inscription'. She thought that a storm goddess 'would be reasonable here, since her "dark cloud" is referred to later in the line'.[26] While the three alternatives (*šgr*, *šmš* and *šala*) to *šdy* are good candidates as the deity instructed by the *ʾlhn // šdyn* to prevent light appearing, there is no real justification for the restoration of the DN *šdy*. Just as we find at Ugarit, the gods of the Deir ʿAlla text probably petition El for his permission to act against humanity. The report of El's oracle to Balaam, therefore, is the news that El has granted the gods this permission. There would, therefore be no need for him to carry out such a task and subsequently no reason to restore *šdy* to the text.

Combination 2

DAT 2:6-8[27]

...	...
yrwy. ʾl.	Let El be satisfied,
yʿbr. ʾl. byt ʿlmn.	let him cross over to the grave,

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[24] Caquot and Lemaire (1977: 196-7).

[25] McCarter (1980: 53-4).

[26] Hackett (1984: 42).

[27] Following Hackett (1984: 29-30).

by[t]	the house ...
byt. lyʿl. hlk.	the house where the traveller does not rise
wlyʿl. ḥtn. šm.	and the bridegroom does not rise there
byt[ ]	the house ...
wrmh. mn. gdš.	and the worm from the tomb
mn . phzy . bny . ʾš .	from those who have risen among humans
wmn . šqy×[ ]	and from the graves ...

Combination 2 is even more fragmentary and less understood than the first, but clearly describes El in the opening section. Once again similarities between the El of Deir ʿAlla and the El of Ugarit are evident in the opening description of El's sexual prowess.[28] The following references to the grave and the underworld have been associated with the Marzeah, which were also associated with licentious behaviour and sacrifices to the dead in the Hebrew Bible,[29] perhaps also elements found in the Marzihu traditions from Ugarit.[30]

While there are no preserved epithets in the remaining portions of this interesting text, the presence of El as the principal god suggests that the text may have once contained epithetic descriptions, although it would be going to far to suggest any on the basis of parallels — except perhaps *šdy*, which does appear in the biblical account of Balaam's activities.[31]

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[28] Cf. KTU 1.23:30ff.

[29] Num. 25:1-5 (and Ps. 106:28); Jer. 16:5; Amos 6:7. For discussion and further references, see Moore (1990: 53-5).

[30] The references to Yarih in KTU 1.114. may refer to sexual activity (See here the Mesopotamian traditions surrounding the god Sin) or, in the light of the associations dogs had with the underworld, perhaps some connection with the door to the netherworld.

[31] Nu. 24:4.

CHAPTER TWELVE

El in the Plaster Inscriptions from Kuntillet 'Ajrud

There are no preserved epithets of El in the plaster inscriptions found at Kuntillet 'Ajrud, but the inscription preserving a fragment of what appears to be a hymn describing El's theophany as the Divine Warrior is worthy of discussion, because it describes El in a way thus far unattested in other West Semitic written sources except for the onomastica which feature names that describe El as a warrior.

Excavations during 1975-6 at Kuntillet 'Ajrud,[1] located approximately 50 km south of Kadesh-Barnea in northern Sinai, provided some of the most 'astonishing'[2] inscriptional finds regarding Israelite religion during Iron Age II.[3] Dated to between the late ninth/early eighth century BCE, the ruins were identified as a religious centre by the excavator Z. Meshel (1978).[4] Two buildings were located here, but one (B) has been almost completely destroyed due to erosion and landslide, although painted plaster fragments evince the highly decorated nature of the original building.[5] The remaining building (A),

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1 Also known as Kuntillet Quraya and Ḥorvat Teman.

2 Dever (1983: 576).

3 See Emerton (1982) who discusses some of these implications.

4 See the alternative view of Hadley (1993), who considers the possibility that the site was, in fact, a desert way station.

5 See Beck (1982: 5) for a map showing the location of the drawings.

where the inscriptions were discovered, is in a better state of preservation, with some of the structure's walls preserved to a height of 1.5 metres. Meshel observed that the two structures, which originally stood there, were once covered in whitewashed plaster which was itself covered with frescoes, inscriptions and graffiti. Inscribed vessels were also discovered, supporting Meshel's conviction about the religious nature of the site as well as textiles, which he suggested were manufactured by the (priestly) residents of this isolated sanctuary.[6]

Fragments of five plaster inscriptions were discovered in building A; two in the ruins of the entrance to the storeroom at the west end of the central courtyard and three in the bench room located at the east end of the courtyard next to the building's entrance. The two inscriptions found in the west storeroom were written in red ink in early Hebrew script,[7] while the three plaster inscriptions discovered in the bench room were written in black ink using Phoenician script. One of these inscriptions (D 1) 'was found *in situ* on the north jamb of the opening between the "bench-room" and the inner courtyard'.[8] Unfortunately, this inscription is too faded to read. Another inscription (D 3) was discovered amongst the debris of the entrance between the 'bench-room' and the inner courtyard. Meshel (1978) did not discuss whether there was any evidence to suggest that the inscriptions were written

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6 For a discussion of the site and the inscriptional finds, see Meshel (1978), for the drawings, see Beck (1982).

7 Note also the use of red in parts of the Deir ʿAlla inscription. Unfortunately no text is currently available for either inscription, so no observation may be made beyond Meshel's description (1978): 'Small fragments of two more inscriptions on plaster were recovered at the western end of the courtyard, in the debris of the collapsed entrance to the western store-room and near it. Probably at least one inscription was originally written on the jambs of this entrance. the fragments are written in red ink and at least one is accompanied by a drawing apparently of a human head. The writing is different from that of the inscriptions described above (those found in the bench-room), and they were obviously not written by the same hand. The few words which can be deciphered include several mentions of the divine name (*yhwh*) and Baal'.

8 Meshel (1978, 'Inscriptions', D).

by the same hand, but he did remark that two of the inscriptions (D 1 and 3) may have originally belonged together. The remaining inscription (D 2), which 'probably dropped off the west wall of the "bench-room",' consists of a blessing.

A personal name found on one of the inscribed pithoi has been restored with the divine name *ʾl*: *yhl*[ʾl],[9] which is the only El PN discovered at this site.[10]

Meshel compared the discovery of inscriptions on doorjambs at Kuntillet ʿAjrud[11] with the injunction in Deuteronomy concerning the teachings of Yahweh: 'Write them on the doorposts of your house and on your gates' (Deut. 6:9; 11:20). It should be noted, however, that the inscriptions from Kuntillet ʿAjrud are distinctly votive, petitionary, or prayerful in nature, not at all like the legal nature of the 'instructions' of Deuteronomy (6:4ff.).

Although Yahweh is seen to be instructing the Israelites to write the 'laws' on their hands, foreheads, doorposts and gates, there is still the possibility that the inscriptions at Kuntillet ʿAjrud correspond to this injunction. The laws correspond to the covenant between Yahweh and Israel and placing them on doorposts would cause the convenanter to pass between these 'contractual obligations', just as one walks between the severed parts of a specified victim during the covenant ritual normally termed *krt bryt* ('to cut a covenant').[12] Thus it is possible that the prayers written on the doorjamb are similarly passed between upon entrance to the sanctuary at Kuntillet ʿAjrud. This act

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9 Meshel (1978, Inscriptions E, 1); Davies (1991: 81, §. 8.017); Hadley (1987: 182).

10 This PN is attested twice in HB, describing (1 Chr. 4:16; 2 Chr. 29:12). No personal names containing the divine element *yh*(*wh*) with √*hll* have as yet been discovered, which lends support to the restoration.

11 Meshel (1978, 'Inscriptions', D) observes that at least one of the two plaster inscriptions discovered in the debris of the collapsed entrance to the western store-room amy have originally been situated on the jamb of the entrance.

would extend the life of the prayer and confirm the covenant between deity and worshipper. Such a covenant relationship between deity and man may also be referred to in the Jerusalem Ostracon which mentions *ʾl qn ʾrṣ*, a phrase attested in treaty texts such as the Karatepe Inscription (KAI 26 A iii:18). Although there are no epithets of El in this inscription, the phrase *šm ʾl* is extremely interesting.

Kuntillet ʿAjrud Plaster Inscription D 3[13]

]*wbzrḥ. ʾl. br*[	... when El appeared ...
]*wymsn. hrm wydkn. gbnm*[	Hills were melted, and peaks were crushed ...
]*wšdš. ʿly*[	... a sixth, against/upon? ...
]*lbrk. bʿl. bym mlḥ*[mt	Bless Baal on a day of wa[r ...]
]*lšm ʾl bym mlḥ*[mt	the name of El on a day of wa[r ...].[14]

Five lines remain from an unknown total.[15] The script is Phoenician, while the language is presumed to be Hebrew,[16] although the form of the numeral in line three, *šdš*, is unique, perhaps suggesting a thus far unidentified Hebrew dialect

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12 See particularly Gen. 15:7-21, where this ritual was performed by Yahweh, who then made the promise of the land to Abram.

13 The identification of this inscription (D 3) follows the provisional publication of the text by Meshel (1978, 'Inscriptions', D 3), the text used here is that of Aḥituv (1992: 160, b). For shorter versions of the text, see Davies, *AHI*, 82, §. 8.023; Gogel (1998: 414, §. 6.1.14.8). See also the translation of McCarter (2000: 173) who offers variant readings, which unfortunately cannot be confirmed without a photograph.

14 Meshel (1993: 1462) translated the text: '... and when El rose up ... / and hills melted / and peaks were pounded / ... ? ... / bless Baal in day of war ... / ... the name of El in day of war ...'.

15 Meshel (1978); Aḥituv (1992: 160) recorded six lines.

16 Meshel (1978).

or perhaps rather an indication that the inscription is not Hebrew.[17] The script has been dated to the late-ninth/early-eighth century BCE. No *matres lectionis* are present; the final *h* restored to *mlh*[m] is gratuitous[18] and the verbs *mss* and *dk*², line 2, both terminate with the archaic third pl. ending (*-n*).

It is unclear, because of the fragmentary nature of the text, whether our opening phrase *bzrḥ* ²*l*, begins or completes a colon. Meshel prefers the latter, and comparison with similar passages in the Hebrew Bible supports this view.[19] The biblical passages feature *zrḥ* parallel with *bw*² in the context of theophany. The position of *zrḥ* in both readings supports Meshel's conviction that our opening phrase may be the second part of a lost bicolon.

This is the only occurrence of this word in EB materials, but it should be noted that of the 18 biblical occurrences[20] of derived verbal forms of *zrḥ*, 12 are used to predicate the sun.[21] On one occasion we have the description of El

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17 McCarter (2000: 173, n. 1) identified the inscription as 'distinctively' Hebrew on the basis of 'the language and style of this poem' and wrote further, 'in all probability, then, ²El should be understood here as the god of Israel rather than a non-Israelite deity'. However, McCarter makes no reference to Meshel's reading of ... *wšdš ʿly* ... on line 3, which raises questions regarding the nationality of the poem. McCarter is certainly aware of this reading, given that he corrects Meshel's subsequent reading of *ydkn* on line 2 to *yrkn*.

18 McCarter (2000: 173, n. 5).

19 Deut. 33:2 and Isa. 60:1. Meshel (1993: 1462). Burney observes (1918: 105) that the infin. cnstr. with prep. *b*, in a temporal clause appears in the title of old songs (e.g. Ps. 3; 34; 51; 52; 54; 57; 59; 60; 63). This he describes as a narrative parenthesis informing the reader of 'historical' events at time of composition/performance.

20 20 times if we include the variants offered in the BHS apparatus for Ps. 97:11 and Prov. 13:9.

21 These passages are: Gen. 32:32; Ex. 22:2; Ju. 9:33; 2 Sam. 23:4; ii Ki. 3:22; Jon. 4:8; Nah. 3:17; Mal. 3:20; Ps. 104:22; Job 9:7; Qoh. 1:5 (× 2).

If, as has been suggested, El (and possibly Yahweh) was originally a lunar god, the verb *zrḥ* may also refer to the appearance of the moon, although this verb is never used to predicate the moon's rising in BH. Perhaps the Hebrew Bible preserves such a memory in Isa. 58:10 and Ps. 112:4. For a discussion of the possible lunar character of El (and Yahweh), see Nielsen (1936: 9-26). There is also the possibility that KTU 1.12:i:12, supports this view.

commanding the sun,[22] while in 2 Sam. 23:4 the king is compared with the sun.[23] In Nah. 3:17, warriors are compared with locusts who flee at sunrise, but *zrḥ* describes the sun, not the army. Other uses of the verb include its use to describe the leprosy, which appeared on Uzziah, presumably revealing divine displeasure,[24] which may be placed in direct contrast to the righteous light, which emanates from the upright as a light in the darkness.[25] In Isa. 60:1-3 it is Yahweh who is described as shining upon Israel amidst darkness and thick cloud, which results in the nations (who dwell in this darkness and thick clouds) walking in the light of the radiance of (the royalty of?) Israel.

The only biblical occurrence, therefore, of *zrḥ* in a context remarkably similar to our inscription, is that of Deut. 33:2, which recounts Yahweh's march from the very region in which this inscription was discovered.[26] There the verb occurs in chiastic parallelism with the verbs *bw'*, *yp'* and *'th*. Isa. 60:1-3 is also comparable, but theological and subsequent literary development of the theme has occurred. The use of the verb *zrḥ*, 'to rise, shine; come out, appear',[27] is usually, as Ringgren observes, 'as an indication of the time or situation in narrative contexts'.[28]

Two further letters are preserved on line one, *br*[...]. Comparison with other biblical theophanies (e.g. Hab. 3; Ps. 68), however, suggest that the text may have gone on to describe the means by which El travelled: **br*[kb ...], 'by

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22 Job 9:7a.

23 Cf. Aḥiqar vi:14 (91).

24 2 Chr. 26:19.

25 Isa. 58:10. See, however, n. 21 above.

26 I agree with Mazar's (1981: 6) conclusion that Mount Sinai is probably best identified with Jebel al-Hilal, located halfway between Shur and Kadesh-Barnea.

27 NKB: 281, proposes two roots, of which our verb is from the first. The second root proposed is identified with Arabic *ṣaruḥa*, 'to be of pure descent' and *ṣaraḥa*, 'to make clear'. This second root is suggested as the meaning behind the Hebrew and Edomite personal names containing the element *zrḥ* found in the Hebrew Bible.

28 Ringgren (1980: 141-2).

ch[ariot]',[29] or detail the divine retinue which accompanied him out to battle: **br*[§p ... w dbr], 'with pla[gue ... and pestilence]'.[30] These alternative reconstructions are merely hypothetical, but remain consonant with Hebrew theophany tradition. Both are also mutual, in that the arrival of El in a chariot would be at the head of the divine army of chariotry, described as such in Ps. 68:8, 18. Philo of Byblos perhaps preserves the memory of El's army in the account of El/Kronos' war against his father Ouranos (with help of allies who are called Eloim, and Kronioi) and expels him from his dominion, and assumes his rule.[31]

Line two is better preserved, but still incomplete. A parallel bicolon apparently describes the reaction of the cosmos to El's arrival; the hills melt (√*mss*) and peaks are 'pounded' (√*dk*²).[32] The parallel verbs *mss* and *dk*² describe the calamitous response of the mountains (*hrym*) // peaks (*gbnm*) (traditionally the thrones/habitation of gods) to the appearance of El. Both verbal forms are Niphal third person plurals featuring the archaic *-n* ending, rather than the more common interpretation that they are both examples of *nun paragogicum*.[33]

The verb *mss*, attested only in Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic,[34] occurs in BH × 23,[35] used primarily in the Niphal with the meaning 'to melt', The Niphal

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[29] Ps. 68:18; 2 Ki. 6:17.

[30] Cf. Hab. 3:5.

[31] *PE* 1.10.18, 20.

[32] Meshel (1993: 1462). McCarter (2000: 173, n. 3) reads *yrkn*, 'grew weak', but without any available photograph of the inscription, it is impossible to assess his interpretation.

[33] E.g., McCarter (2000: 173, n. 3). Cf. Waltke & O'Connor (1990: 516, §. 31.7.1); GKC §. 47m.

[34] Rinngren (1980: 437). McCarter (2000: 173, n. 3) understands here the use of the paragogic *nun*, but it should be noted that Harris discusses a Ph. verbal form ending *-n*, for the third person plural in his (1939) grammar.

[35] Ex. 16:21; Deut. 1:28 (Hiphil); 20:8; Josh. 2:11; 5:1; 7:5; Ju. 15:14; i Sam. 15:9; ii Sam. 17:10 (× 2); Isa. 8:6; 10:18 (Qal); 13:7; 19:1; 34:3; Ezek. 21:12; Mic. 1:4; Nah. 2:11; Ps. 22:15; 68:3; 97:5; 112:10; Job 8:19.

and Hiphil generally describe the loss of one's courage in the face of a greater power or an approaching disaster.[36] Thus, enemies of the deity are described as dispersing like the melting of wax before a fire at his arrival,[37] with the hills drenched in the blood of his enemies, surely a development of the image of the hills melting.[38] In Micah and Psalms, the mountains (*hrym*) are described as melting in the presence of the deity.[39] A few occurrences are also found in the Qal ('to despair', × 3)[40] and Hiphil ('cause to melt', × 1) themes.[41]

Line three is too fragmentary to be translated, but features the only occurrence in Hebrew, if this inscription is indeed to be seen as Hebrew,[42] of the ordinal 'sixth', written with a medial *d*. Considering the fact that this would be the only occasion that such a form occurs in Hebrew, it may be preferable to see here a non-Hebrew language, or at the very least an as yet unidentified peripheral dialect.[43]

In one of the Ugaritic texts associated with the Rapiuma, de Moor suggested that the 'name of El' is invoked as a blessing that 'brings the spirits of the dead back to life'.[44] This view has merit, given El's role in the granting of life through childbirth, but we should also note that when Baal dies, El performs a similar mourning ritual to that of Danel at the news of Aqhat's

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36 Deut. 1:28; 20:8; Jos. 2:11; 5:1; 7:5; 2 Sam. 17:10; Isa. 13:7.

37 Ps. 68:2-3, although here the deity is called *elohim*.

38 Isa. 34:3.

39 Micah 1:3-4; Ps. 97:5.

40 Isa. 10:18 is the only definite occurrence in Qal. NKB: 606, identifies the form *mśwś* (Isa. 8:6 and Job 8:19? both Qal) as deriving from √*mss*.

41 Rinngren (1980: 437) noted the secondary form *msh* (× 4) and the seemingly semantically related form *m's*.

42 See here McCarter (2000: 173), who champions the identification of the language of this inscription as Hebrew, even though he recognizes the Phoenician orthography of the script and the occurrence of a non-Hebrew word (*pbnm*) and the fact that the lack of a final *mater lectionis* on the word *mlḫm* is consistent with Phoenician orthography.

43 The form of the ordinal, with a medial *d*, is found at Ugarit (*tdt*) in the Rapiuma text KTU 1.22:ii:23.

death.[45] Further, El hopes for Baal's resurrection, rather than performing any deed that guarantees it; the dream that brings the news is oracular rather than magical in nature.[46] Perhaps the connection to be made between the Rapiuma and the Kuntillet ʿAjrud inscription is that the Rapiuma represent warriors who fight at El's side on the 'day of war' mentioned in the inscription. Also, as we noted above, the numeral *tdt* occurs in this text, describing the length of the journey to the threshing floor, which I argued above has connections with killing as well as with the Rapiuma. Perhaps line three described the length of days the army took to fight the unspecified enemy of the inscription.

Lines five and six invoke the names of both Baal and El on the 'day of war'.[47] The parallelism suggests that is these two gods, rather than the suggestion by McCarter, that *bʿl* and *ʾl* are both to taken as references to 'the god of Israel'.[48] This is the only occasion, apart from the occurrence in the Rapiuma text noted above, that the phrase *šm ʾl* occurs. Interestingly, in the story recounting successful Abram's campaign to recover Lot,[49] El is invoked as the deity responsible for success on the battlefield. It is, therefore, possible that a prayer similar to that of lines five and six of our inscription was uttered before such a campaign, given that it is El who is praised after its success. Further, the phrase *šm ʾl* may also provide a rationale for the Hebrew phrase

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44 KTU 1.22:i:4-7. De Moor (1980: 179).

45 KTU 1.5:vi:10-25.

46 KTU 1.6:iii.

47 Contrary to the conviction of McCarter that, 'the lack of a final *mater* is consistent with Phoen. orthography, while the final *-ā* rather than *-at* shows that the language of the text is Heb. rather than Phoen', the final *m* in the word is lacking, making it possible that the lost text read *mlḥmt*.

48 McCarter (1992: 123-9); (2000: 173, n. 4). The author's observation that this identification must be made 'in view if the distinctive Israelite literary character of this fragmentary poem' should be tempered with the observation that due to the lack of literary texts from any of the Semitic cultures neighbouring Israel, it is an argument of silence that determines this view. The poem could be a rare example of Phoenician literature that due to its location has been misidentified as Hebrew.

49 Gen. 14:18-22.

ʾnšy hšm,[50] applied to the Gibborim who are born of the union between the sons of God and the daughters of men. These are the characters who on such a day of war, as mentioned in the inscription from Kuntillet ʿAjrud, are the warriors who represent the 'name of El', comparable with the allies of El/Kronos mentioned by Philo of Byblos who accompany El into battle.[51]

Although this inscription offers no epithets of El for my study, it confirms that the descriptions of El's warlike character found here, briefly in the Baal Cycle from Ugarit and Hebrew Bible, as well as in Philo of Byblos and, by extension, Greek mythology, should be seen as accurately describing El. This is also supported by the onomastica, where descriptions of El as a warrior are also found and which are discussed in the chapter below on personal names compounded with the DN El.

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[50] Gen. 6:4. Cf. Noegel (1998: 415 and 417) who notes a connection with Semitic (and Greek) *Chaoskampf* tradition, which appears to be alluded to in the plaster inscription from Kuntillet ʿAjrud.

[51] *PE* 1.10.16, 20.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Personal Names Formed with the DN *ʾl*

Personal names formed with the divine name El plus a modifying element such as a verb, adjective, noun or participle that attribute or describe a character belonging to El are important in a study of epithets and titles attributed to El. Such personal names support the probability that many of the epithets accorded El are not merely frozen forms whose meaning have been forgotten, but are descriptions used in El religion, particularly those that correlate semantically with the descriptions of El's character and attributes found in his titles and epithets. This is not to suggest that they are uttered in rituals (although I would not rule that possibility out), but to say that El religion was a vibrant, albeit conservative, cult in which ancient concepts were still current. Such a view may be borne out by the observation of Fowler[1] that Hebrew personal names comprising the element *ʾl* are predominantly nominal. Such names most likely preserve epithets and titles of El.

In this chapter we shall discuss some of the personal names that describe characteristics of El — particularly those mirroring the epithets found in the literary texts dealt with above as well as the evidence that describes El as a

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[1] Fowler (1988: 40).

warrior. It is hoped that this brief survey will show that the concepts attributed to El in the onomastica are consistent with those found in the literary texts.[2]

The general lack of explicit references to El as a violent or warrior god, in both the Ugaritic and Hebrew literary texts, is commonly used to support the view that El had, by the late Bronze Age, come to be seen as a *deus otiosus*, ultimately supplanted by Baal.[3] However, there are probably literary, political and/or theological reasons for his lack of physical involvement in the struggles between Baal and Yam/Mot. El's direction of Keret's campaign against Udum, the city of king Pabil, may also be seen as further evidence for the concept of El as a warrior. Gen. 14:20, in Melchizedek's blessing of 'El Elyon, who has delivered (Abram's) enemies into (his) hand', suggests that the concept of warrior has been identified with El in this tradition, and Job presents an El quite capable of violent acts. It is at this point that the materials preserved by Philo of Byblos concerning El/Kronos become indispensable, owing to their focus on the violent history of El which is, apparently, absent from both the Ugaritic and Hebrew records.[4]

Notwithstanding this meagre textual evidence, personal names offer important evidence for a concept of El as a violent or warrior god. In the following chapter we shall discuss only the difficult or interesting forms in any detail, which reveal a concept of El and which may be identified as violent or warrior-like. Some of the roots, which form these names, will be assessed to determine whether our interpretation of these personal names has any foundation. The following elements, amongst others, found in theophoric

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2 It would be impossible, due to space restrictions, to discuss all the personal names containing the DN *ʾl* here, so I shall restrict this survey to the personal names that correspond to known epithets and titles as well as those that suggest (to me at least) the possibility that they preserve titles or epithets that do not appear in literary texts.

3 Cassuto (1951); Kapelrud (1952); Pope (1955); Oldenburg (1969).

4 See the passage attributed to Pherecydes and found in Celsus, *ap.* (Origen, *c. Celsum* vi, 42 [DK 7 B 4]), which appears to preserve evidence that Kronos (El) was the original hero of the *Chaoskampf* tradition, discussed briefly in my chapter on Philo Byblos.

personal names, suggest El as strong, or one who strengthens: *ʾmṣ*, *gbr*, *grm*, *ḏmr*, *hbn*, *hqm*, *ḥwl/ḥyl*, *ḥzq*, *mrr* and *ʿzz*. The multiplicity of forms indicate the popularity of names extolling the deity's strength or his bestowal of this attribute to the name-bearer. While not all of these formations imply military strength, some certainly do, particularly the less common roots found also in texts describing warfare or violent struggle.

ʾb

In Ugaritic literature, as we have seen, El is repeatedly called *ʾb* 'father', with particular reference to the other gods of the pantheon.[5] This role includes kings, who were considered divine or semi-divine at least (as is evident in *Keret*), but it is uncertain whether it extends to humanity in general. Personal names that include the word *ʾb* as a description of El are equally unclear over the type of fatherhood they describe. Do they claim El as father of humans, or do they proclaim his fatherhood of the divine realm? If the claim of fatherhood is of humans in general, it is distinctly possible that the 'fatherhood' in question is metaphorical in the sense that it is El who provides the care and protection expected from the father, rather than any claim that El is the biological father of the person thus named.

Rosén speculated that the element *ʾb* in personal names, particularly in the name *ʾbrm*, is indicative of a deity named *ʾb*, upon which was later 'imposed' the divine name El.[6] This may appear to be supported by the many names composed of *ʾb* + an attribute, with *ʾb* appearing very much like a divine name,[7] but given the repeated references to El as *ʾb* in Ugaritic literature and in

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5 Note also the phrase *ʾl ʾbyk* (Gen. 49:25), which may be understood to mean 'El you father'.

6 Rosén (1998: 442).

7 Cf. Roberts (1972: 12), who notes the DN ^{d}*a-ba*, as well as the conclusion by Gelb that the deity in question was female.

the Amorite onomasticon,[8] it is unlikely that El appropriated the divine name *ʾb* as an attribute.[9] The evidence from personal names suggests that *ʾb* is a very ancient title of El. Roberts' observation that there was an Amorite goddess called ^{d}*a-bu*, perhaps the spouse of Amurru, in no way contradicts this view.[10]

Phoenician attests the name *ʾbʾ*,[11] which may be a shortened form of *ʾbʾl* and thus possibly the only personal name in Phoenician which describes El as father.[12] The same 'short form' was found on a Proto-Canaanite seal.[13] In OSA, we find the form *ʾbʾl*, 'The Father is El'/'El is Father',[14] while in Amorite there is *a-bi-ḫi-il*.[15] Hebrew *ʾbyʾl* may be the same form with *hireq compaginis*, or with the first person suffix, 'My father is El', as the name of Saul's grandfather.[16] The Hebrew name may be purely ideological,[17] reinforcing the claim that Saul was chosen (adopted) by the deity[18] in much the same way that Keret[19] or David[20] are described as sons of the deity. Hebrew *ʾlyʾb*, 'El is Father', with *hireq compaginis*, or ' My God is Father', with the first person suffix, occurs some twenty times in HB.[21] The name *ʾbymʾl*,[22] is difficult if we are to accept a personal suffix before an enclitic *-m* and is perhaps best

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8 Amor. *a-bu-um*-AN, *a-bu-ka*-AN, *a-bi-mi-ki*-AN, Huffmon (1963: 154).

9 Further evidence against Rosén's proposal, is Fowler's observation (1988: 334) that *ʾb* is also used in personal names that include the WS deities *ʾl*, *bʿl*, *gd*, *yhwh*, *ym* and *mlk*.

10 Roberts (1972: 63, n. 6).

11 Benz (1972: 54, 257).

12 Benz (1972: 46) considers the inscription (RES 620) containing this name to be a fake.

13 Cross (1962a: 12-8).

14 Ryckmans (1934: 217).

15 Huffmon (1965: 154).

16 1 Sam. 9:1; 14:51; 2 Chr. 11:32.

17 See here Gen. 49:25, where the phrase *ʾl abyk* may support such a view.

18 1 Sam. 9:17.

19 E.g. KTU 1.16:i:10.

20 Ps. 2:7.

21 Nu. 1:9; 2:7; 7:24, 29; 10:16; 16:1, 12 26:8f.; Deut. 11:6; 1 Sam. 1:1; 16:6; 17:13, 28; 1 Chr. 2:13; 6:12,15:18, 20; 16:5; 2 Chr. 11:18.

understood as *ʾb* + *hireq compaginis* *-y* + *encl.* *-m* + *ʾl*, 'the father is El', although this is equally difficult and may point to the meaning 'my father is from El'. But, note Amor. *a-bi-mi-ka*-AN features encl. *-mi* and the preposition *ka*, 'like': 'the father is like El'.[23] This name possibly praises the human father by suggesting that his procreative powers are comparable with those of El, so perhaps the interpretation 'my father is from El' for *ʾbymʾl* is to be preferred. Gröndahl suggested that the Ug. PN *ilib* (KTU 4.727:13), is derived from *ab*, 'father',[24] but we have no means of confirming this and the name may just as well mean 'El is fruitful'. Four interpretations of the name *ilʾbn*, which occurs in Ugaritic[25] and OSA, are possible: (i) √*ab*, 'father' + 3rd s. pron. suff. *-n*, 'El is his father'; (ii) √*ab*, 'father' + 1st pl. pron. suff. *-n*, 'El is our father';[26] (iii) √*abn*, 'stone', 'El is the stone'; (iv) √*bny*, 'to build, create', 'It is El who built (offspring) for me', comparable with the Niphal form of *bnh*, which occurs only twice in the Hebrew Bible, in stories recounting the birth of children to barren women through their maids,[27] although this interpretation is difficult, seeing a first person singular form attested in Ugaritic.[28] Given the popularity of the theme of the childless patriarch in Ugaritic literature (*Keret*, *Aqhat*), as well as in Hebrew Literature, which indicates that infertility was a fact of life in the Ancient Near East, it is possible that the name *ilabn* should be interpreted in this manner.[29] Further, given the role Baal plays in obtaining El's

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22 Gen 10:28; 1 Chr. 1.22.

23 Huffmon (1965: 102).

24 Gröndahl (1967: 95).

25 Ugaritic: KTU 4.226:3; OSA: Oldenburg (1970: 192, n. 27).

26 Gröndahl (1967: 94).

27 Ishmael: Gen. 16:2 and Dan: Gen. 30:3.

28 See the discusion at *bny* below.

29 Note also the PN *abn* (KTU 4.335:25; KTU 4.370:3).

permission for Danel to conceive a son,[30] perhaps the Phoenician personal name *ʾbnbʿl* is to be also understood in this way.[31]

The amount of personal names featuring *ʾb* plus *ʾl*, support the evidence in the Ugaritic texts that El occupied the role of father. This is also evident in the use of the noun *ʾd*, 'father' in the Amorite and Ammonite onomastica.[32] The Ugaritic PN *bnil*, 'Son of El'[33] is further testimony to the belief that El was, in some manner, understood to be the father of human individuals. Given the equation of Philo of Byblos, El = Kronos, worthy of attention is the Greek personal name Κρονι[ων], '[Son of] Kronos', attested on an unpublished amphora possibly dating from the Hellenistic period and presently in the Chios Museum.[34] There was a month called Κρονίων at Samos, amongst other places,[35] so the individual thus named was possibly born in the month of Κρονίων. However, given that Κρονίων was also a cult title of Zeus,[36] it is just as possible that the person was named after Zeus, but even so, the name still describes El/Kronos as father.

ʾd or *ʿd* ? A possible Semitic place name in Cyprus

The first securely recorded mention of Idalion, outside Cyprus, is the Prism of Esarhaddon (673-2 BCE), which mentions a certain 'Ekishtura, king of *Edʾil*' (one of the ten 'kingdoms' of Yadnana).[37] The fourteenth entry in the list of

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30 KTU 1.17:i:16ff.

31 Benz (1972: 258). The author, following Astour (1966: 277), notes the 'female deity' *abn* in KTU 1.100:1.

32 Amorite; A-*di*-AN, Huffmon (1967: 156); For the Ammonite example, *ʾdʾl*, see *CAI*, 139:3.

33 KTU 4.86:12; KTU 4.377:19; KTU 4.609:8, 19; KTU 4.616:10; KTU 4.623:6; KTU 4.732:2.

34 *LGPN* i, 275.

35 *SIG* 976.2 (2 century BCE).

36 E.g. *Il.* 1.397 etc.

37 *ANET*, 291. See also Hill (1940: 104-5, 107), who discussed the identification of

Asiatic countries, compiled during the reign of the 18th Dynasty king Thutmose iii, contains the TN *itr*, which has been interpreted to mean Idalion.[38] If this identification is correct, it would place Idalion's foundation well into the Late Bronze Age.

The name of the Cypriot town Idalion, written in Cypro-Syllabic as *i-ta-li*, *e-ta-li* (= Gk. Ἰδάλιον, Ἐδάλιον, or Ἠδάλιον)[39] and in Phoenician as *ʾdyl*, appears Semitic in origin. No Greek etymology has been offered for this TN and the only possibilities deriving from a root *ιδαλ-,[40] are the words ἰδάλιμος, 'causing sweat'[41] and ἰδαλίς, 'a type of bird'.[42] The Cypriot place names Kition (*kty*), Salamis (*šlm*) and Tamassos (Dumuzi) have been identified as being Semitic in origin,[43] as well as the use of Phoen. *qrtyḥdšt*, for Kition (a place name which also appears to be Semitic, *kty*), so it would not be surprising if the name Idalion derived from a Semitic word. Two possibilities for the first component of the TN are attractive: *ʾd* or *ʿd*, which would result in the Semitic forms *ʾdʾlʾdyʾl*, or *ʿdʾlʿdyʾl*. The second part of the place-name, *yl*, would be seen to derive from the DN *ʾl*, written as *ʾyl*. While this form is unattested in Phoenician, it is found in an incantation from Syria and may reflect an orthographic, or even dialectal, form of the name current in the Iron Age.[44] The *ʾ* would, therefore be seen to have assimilated to the *d* of the previous word: **ʾdʾyl* > *ʾdyl*

Yatnana, Yad(a)nana, or Atnana as Danuna, and West (1997: 5), who noted Eg. *tnyw*. Parpola and Porter (2001: 7, 20 and Gazeteer, 8 and 25).

38 Simons (1937: 116, no. 14).

39 Masson (1961: 233, n. 1); Egetmeyer (1992: 40-1, 54). There is no consonant *d* in CS, with *t*, representing the phonetic sounds *d*, *t* and *th*.

40 Alternatively, the root may have been originally *δαλ-, 'heat', if the first of our two Greek words above is connected with the meaning of this TN.

41 *Hapax* in Hes. *Op.* 415.

42 Listed by the fifth century CE lexicographer Hesychius, L-S, 817.

43 See the discussion of West (1997).

44 See Naveh (2002), no. 5:1.

The first possibility *ʾd(y)ʾl*, is derived from either *ʾd*, 'father',[45] or the rare word *ʾd* (Akk. *edû* > Sum. A.DÉ.A), 'spring, source'.[46] The internal *y*, if it indeed existed in the name, could be the mark of the construct formation, which does include divine names as the evidence from the Kuntillet ʿAjrud inscription, discussed in this thesis above, has shown, e.g. *yhwh šmrn*, 'Yahweh of Samaria'. If the TN does not mean 'El is father (of this town?)', our second possibility would result in the meaning for the toponym, 'the springs (or wellings of the deep) of El'.[47] No personal names have thus far identified with the element *ʾd*, 'spring, source'.

The second choice, **ʿdy(ʾ)l*, involves seeing the initial vowel in the Greek name representing Sem. *ʿ*. While this is difficult, it is not impossible;[48] the Ph. spelling of Idalion is *ʾdyl*[49] and the occurrence of three different vowels in the Greek transcription of Idalion suggests possible ambiguity in the vocalization of the Semitic original. Further, Phoenician, the most likely influence in the choice of this name, continually represents *ʾ* with *ʿ* and *vice versa*. There already exists in Hebrew the PN *ʿdyʾl*,[50] as well as the Yahwistic personal names *ʿdyh* and *ʿdyhw*.[51] In Ugaritic we find the hypocoristic form *ʿdy*, as well as *ʿdršp*.[52] Phoenician attests the word in the name *ʿdʾšmn*[53] while both

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45 Although not impossible, the vocalization of the Cypriot TN argues against this interpretation.

46 See Speiser (1955: 9-11).

47 E.g. KTU 1.2:iii:4. Idalion, it should be noted, is located between two rivers, which is reminiscent of the place where El himself is believed to reside.

48 E.g. *ʿbd ʾdm* (*ʿbd-ʾdwm*) is transliterated into Greek as Αβεδδαρα, Αβεδαραμ and Αβδεδομ (2 Sam. 6:10 // 1 Chr. 13:14; 2 Chr. 13:14).

49 E.g. Amadasi and Karageorghis (1977), A 2:2; A 6D; A 29:2; A 30:1, 2; F1:2.

50 LXX: Αδουελ, Tob. 1:1. 1 Chr. 4:36; 9:12 (*ʾzrʾl* Neh. 11:13); 27:25.

51 This second name may not be yahwistic, but one that features the third person personal pronoun as a theophoric element.

52 Fulco (1976: 35) translated this PN as 'Reshep is eternal'.

53 Benz (1972: 165, 373).

Ammonite and OSA (Safaitic and Sabean) have the form *ʿdʾl*,[54] although the general interpretation for the element *ʿd* is usually 'witness' or 'help',[55] Further, in Phoenician, we find the personal name *ʾdʾ* (plus the var. *ʾdy*),[56] of which the meaning is uncertain, although the meaning 'springs' or the like, is not attractive for a personal name, it is certainly a good choice for a place name.

Gröndahl drew attention to the various meanings Ug. *ʿd* might have, without reaching any secure conclusions,[57] while the Ugaritic divine compound name, or perhaps hypostatic designation, *ʿd w šr* suggests the meaning 'throne, throne room' as a possibility. Noth interpreted the Hebrew name as, 'God is adornment'.[58] Sivan observed that in the Ammonite PN 'the element *ʿd* may have two meanings': 'wear jewels'/'jewel' (√*ʿdw/y*) or 'witness', as well as be either verbal or nominal in force.[59] Aufrecht, following Sivan, suggested 'El has adorned', or 'My witness is El', while Baldacci preferred 'Eternal is El'.[60] Either interpretation is possible. El 'adorned' parents with the wealth of jewellery or children[61] and has been invoked as a witness in treaties, which tend to use 'eternal' as an epithet of participating gods.[62] Further, in Ugaritic *ʿd* has the meaning 'eternal'.[63]

The evidence supports viewing the second example as the likely meaning of a Semitic origin for the TN Idalion. However, the use of *aleph* in the first example is consistent with the accepted spelling of Idalion in Phoenican.

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54 Ammonite: Aufrecht (1989: 74-6, no. 31); OSA: Jackson (1983a), nos 53, 76.

55 See here Krahmalkov (2000: 359), *ʿD I*.

56 Benz (1972: 55).

57 Gröndahl (1967: 106).

58 Noth (1928: 204).

59 Aufrecht (1989: 76); Sivan (1982: 233).

60 Baldacci (1985: 520).

61 See here KTU 1.16, where Keret values children more than gold.

62 KAI 222:iA:8-12.

63 KTU 5.9:6 (*b ʿd ʿlm*). See *DLU*, 72.

Further, the idea that El is associated with water in the first name is certainly attractive, in the light of Ugaritic descriptions of his abode. In the absence of any explanation from Greek, a Semitic derivation for the TN Idalion seems distinctly probable, although no definite conclusions may be reached concerning the meaning of the TN.

ʾwr

The personal name *ʾlʾwr*, may be translated as 'El shines' or, 'El is the light (in which I walk)?'. Various name formations from this root occur in Amorite: *I-li-u-ri*;[64] perhaps, Phoenician: *ʾr.ʾlm.*[65] Hebrew: *ʾwryʾl*,[66] *ʾlyʾr*,[67] *ʾrʾyl*,[68] *ʾrʾly*,[69] *ʾrʾlm*(?);[70] and Ammonite: *ʾwrʾ*, *ʾwrʾl*, *ʾlʾwr* and *ʾlʾr*.[71] It has been suggested that *ʾwr* may be a Piel formation, 'make light', which could refer to the child: 'El made light (i.e., a child)'.[72]

ʾzn

Aufrecht restored a quiescent *ʾaleph* to the Ammonite name *yznʾl* to read *yʿ›zʾnʾl*, 'El has ‹hea›rd', noting 'the same phenomenon ... in the Hebrew names *yznyhu* ‹ **yʾznyhu* (Jer. 40:8) and *yznyh* ‹ **yʾznyh* (Jer. 42:1)'.[73] This name is

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64 Huffmon (1965: 170).

65 KAI 30:5. Cf. *yd.bʿl* and *yd.ʾdm* on line 4.

66 1 Chr. 6:9; 15:5, 11; 2 Chr. 13:2.

67 Found on a seal published by Bordreuil & Lemaire, *Semitica* 29 (1979): 73-4, no. 4 Df, cited in Fowler (1988: 335). Thisname could mean, however, 'El is my lion', cf. 2 Sam. 23:20 (*ʾrʾl*), where the LXX reads Αριηλ, while the Vulgate reads *leones*.

68 Ezek. 43:15, 16 (marg.).

69 Gen. 46:16; Nu. 26:17 (gentilic).

70 The final *-m*, may be enclitic, Isa. 33:7.

71 Aufrecht (1989: 356): *ʾwrʾ* (*CAI* 106:3); *ʾwrʾl* (*CAI* 122:3; 147:5); *ʾlʾwr* (*CAI* 137:5); *ʾlʾr* (*CAI* 134:1).

72 Cf, *yrd*, *DNWSI*, 468.

73 Aufrecht (1989: 19-20).

most likely a shortened form of a longer sentence name, perhaps one such as: *'El has heard/listened (to my prayer/request for a child)'.

ʾl

Are names which feature *ʾl* alone, names formed using the divine name with a final *mater lectionis*, personal suffix or *hireq compaginis* such as *ʾlʾ*,[74] *ʾlwn*,[75] *ʾlyʾl* and *iln* to be derived from the verb *ʾyl*, 'to be strong' (‹ √*ʾll*)? Or, are they hypocoristic forms which, like *ʾlʾl*, 'El is god', affirm the faith of the parent in El?

Biblical *ʾlyʾl*, 'My god is El', assuming a first person singular personal suffix, or 'El is god' if we are to see the *y* as a *mater lectionis*, would be the most appropriate translation of this name, although its occurrence in Chronicles suggests that the meaning 'My God is God (i.e. Yahweh)' is intended.[76]

This name is apparently attested in Greek as Ἐλδίος, 'El is (the) god', on an inscription found on Chios and dated to the beginning of the fifth century BCE.[77] If this interpretation is indeed correct (compare Ἔλβιος below), it supports the translation '(My) god is El'. If the name *ʾlʾ* is a hypocoristic form of *ʾlyʾl*, then the medial -*y*- in the Hebrew name is probably a *mater lectionis*. This form occurs in Ammonite,[78] Phoenician or Hebrew[79] and Samaritan.[80]

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74 BH: 1 Kings 4:18; EB: Sam. Ostr. 38 dated to the eighth cent. BCE Davies (1991: 47, §. 3.038) and in an undated seal from Beirut (Avigad (1970) Pl. 30: 3)

75 Rosén (1998: 439), *ʾlwn*, 'The Strong One'.

76 1 Chr. 5:24; 6:19; 8:20; 11:46, 47; 12:12; 15:9, 11; 2 Chr. 31:13.

77 SGDI, 5656 = Schwyzer, DGE, 690. Hoffman (1898: 43, no. 86, 14); Masson (1964: 5). The genealogy of the list suggests the name should be dated to the Early Iron period (*ca.* 1,000-800 BCE).

78 Aufrecht (1989: 184-5), including extensive bibliography.

79 The name occurs on a seal possibly from Beirut (?), cf. *AHI* §. 100.293.

80 Sam. Ostr. 38:3.

Although a statement of faith is likely intended in such a name, there is no hint that it is a claim made in the face of more popular deities. It is, rather, a statement of faith made to the deity in question, here El. The speaker of a name such as this makes a liturgical statement each time they utter it, thus hopefully bringing the blessings of El upon the bearer of the name.

ʾmṣ

The evidence for theophoric personal names using *ʾmṣ*, 'to be strong', may be summarized as follows: the Ammonite PN *ʾlʾmṣ*, 'El is strong,[81] strengthens'; the Hebrew names *ʾmṣyhw*,[82] *ʾmṣyh*[83] and *ʾmwṣ*.[84] A hypocoristic form *ʾmṣy* is attested in Hebrew[85] and possibly also in Moabite and Aramaic (*ʾmṣ*).[86] No personal names bearing this element have as yet been discovered at Ugarit.

Ugaritic *amṣ* is preserved on three tablets,[87] one of which is too fragmentary for analysis,[88] while the remaining two occurrences occur on literary[89] and correspondence[90] tablets, but confirm the word describes strength in Ugaritic.

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81 Jackson (1983: 76; 1983a: 510), AS 44, dated to the late seventh century BCE.

82 2 Ki. 14:1-15:3 (*ʾmṣyh* 14:8 and 15:1); 1 Chr. 3:12; 2 Chr. 24:27; 25:1ff.; 26:1,4.

83 1 Chr. 4:34; 6:30; Amos 7:10, 12, 14.

84 Isa. 1:2; 2:1; 13:1; 20:2, etc. This may be an abbreviated form, see Fowler (1988: 167) for discussion.

85 1 Chr. 6:31 and Neh. 11:12.

86 Jackson (1983: 410); (1983a: 510 [Aramaic]). Davies (1991: 35 [2.088.2, Tell Arad Ostracon 88, 7th cent.]; 74 [5.001.4, Ostracon 1 (no. 2171/1, loc. 273), Beersheba, 8th cent.]; 91 [19.001.1, Tell Dan Graffito, 8th cent.]; 130 [100.074.1, Moabite, 7th cent.]).

87 KTU 1.82:14; KTU 2.33:5; KTU 7.44:3.

88 KTU 7.44.

89 KTU 1.82:14b: *ydk amṣ yd*[k ...], 'Your hand is strong, [your] hand ...'. De Moor (1987: 177) translated differently: 'Let your hands be strong, let your hand be [...]!' The verb may be an imperative form ('strengthen your hand!'), but certainly not a third person injunctive which would require the initial *a* become *i*.

90 KTU 2.33:5: [...]mlk*n amṣ*, '... our king is strong'. Lipiński (cited in *TO II*: 328, n.7) restored to the lacuna *ḫrd* (or *ṣbʾ*, or an equivalent), yielding '*L'armée de notre roi est*

In biblical Hebrew, *ʾmṣ* occurs 41 times in verbal formations,[91] of which nineteen occur in a military context (almost 50% of the total).[92] Almost 40% (15) of passages containing *ʾmṣ* are found in the exhortatory formula *ḥzq wʾmṣ*[93] 'Be strong, and bold'.[94] Substantival derivatives of *ʾmṣ* are few,[95] but Zech. 12:5 clearly uses the noun in a military context. The adjective *ʾmyṣ*, 'mighty' is employed on six occasions in MT,[96] three of which are applied to deity as a qualification of the noun *kḥ*, 'strength, power'.[97] In the remaining passages the adjective describes an agent of deity, military defeat and the growing strength of Absalom's conspiracy against David.[98]

Extra-biblical use of *ʾmṣ*, is evinced in the phrase *ʾmṣ zrʿ*, 'strong of arm', found on a seventh century ostracon found at Tell Arad.[99] The Ammonite PN *ʾlʾmṣ* is preserved on a seal, and thus offers no further evidence beyond attesting the use of *ʾmṣ* in a personal name formed with the divine name El. It may be argued that the reference to this verb in the name does not necessarily mean military strength in Ammonite. However, the use of the verb in other Semitic languages certainly favours this interpretation.

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forte'. Dijkstra (1987: 43, and n. 30) suggested that Ug. *amṣ* 'perhaps ... underwent the same development in meaning as Hebrew *ḥayil* 'force › army'. He read and interpreted the text somewhat differently from *KTU*²: '[*hlny*]*ylkn. ʾamṣ*| [*ʾib* ...], [Now then,] the forces [of the enemy] came ...'. The lack of photographic comparison disables any conclusion over the correct reading.

91 Qal: × 16; Piel: × 19 (incl. ptcpl. × 1); Hiphil: × 2; Hithpael: × 4 (incl. ptcpl. × 1).

92 Deut. 2:30; 31:6, 7; Josh. 10:25; 2 Sam. 22:18 (// Ps. 18:18); 2 Chr. 32:7; Isa. 35:3; 41:10; Nah. 2:2; Amos 2:14; Ps. 27:14; 31:25; 80:16, 18; 142:7.

93 The root *ḥzq* is also a component of personal names attesting the strength of the deity.

94 Deut. 3:28; 31:6, 7, 23; Josh. 1:6, 7, 9, 18; 10:25; 1 Chr. 22:13; 28:20; 2 Chr. 32:7; Nah. 2:2; Amos 2:14; Ps. 27:14; 31:25. Weinfeld (1972: 343) identified this formula as Deuteronomic.

95 Noun: *ʾmṣ* (Job 17:9); *ʾmṣh* (Zech. 12:5); *mʾmṣ* (Job 36:19).

96 Adjective: *ʾmyṣ* (Job 9:4, 19; Isa. 40:26; Amos 2:16); *ʾmṣ* (2 Sam. 15:12; Isa. 28:2).

97 El: Job 9:4 (*ʾmyṣ kḥ*), 9:19 (*kḥ ʾmyṣ*); Yahweh: Isa. 40:26 (*rb ʾwnym wʾmyṣ kḥ*).

98 Isa. 28:2; Amos 2:16 and 2 Sam. 15:12, respectively.

99 Tell Arad Ostr. 88:1-3 *ʾny. mlkty. bk*[l ...]/ *ʾmṣ. zrʿ. w*[...]/ *mlk. mṣrym. l*[...], 'I rule in a[ll] .../ strong of arm and .../ the king of Egypt ...'. Text, Davies (1991: 35, §. 2.088).

ʾmr

Found on a seal at Megiddo (dated to the first half of 7th cent. BCE), perhaps Phoenician,[100] and found in OSA,[101] the personal name *ʾlʾmr*, 'El has spoken/commanded(?)', reminds one of El's role as the head of the divine council in Ugaritic myth and the one whose approval must be gained before any action may be carried out by the other gods of the pantheon. This is also the case in the plaster inscription from Deir ʿAlla. In the human realm the spoken command of El is more than likely the blessing of children, if the representation of El in his dealings with both Keret and Danel is as typical as they suggest.

ʾmt

The Ammonite personal name *ʾlʾmt*, is translated as 'My God is faithfulness', by Jackson[102] who notes the 'possible cognates ... BH *ʾămitay* and Phoen. *ʾlʾmn*'.[103] BH *ʾmty*[104] is probably hypocoristic, but the divine name *ʾl* (or indeed any other) cannot be restored with any confidence.[105]

ʾn

The name *ʾlʾn* from Ḥama[106] and the Ugaritic name *ilann* may be a name formed with Hurrian AN,[107] 'El is god' (compare *ʾl(y)ʾl* above). A derivation

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100 *AHI*, §.100.136.

101 Oldenburg (1979: 192, n. 27).

102 Jackson (1983: 510, n. 10) offers no explanation for his preference for an appellative interpretation for *ʾl* in this name, which could just as easily be understood as the DN El.

103 Benz (1972: 312) wonders whether this name is a form of *ḥmn* (see discussion on *bʿl ḥmn* above).

104 Amittai was the father of Jonah (2 Ki. 14:25; Jon. 1:1).

105 See Fowler (1988: 165) who notes the translation of *The New Westminster Dictionary of the Bible*, 36: 'Y is faithfulness, or truth'.

106 Hübbner (1993: 138).

from the root *ʾnn*, 'to sigh',[108] or *ʾnh*, 'to grieve', seems unlikely, although the roots *ʾnh*, 'cause to happen' and *ʾwn*, 'generative power',[109] 'physical power',[110] or 'wealth',[111] are certainly possible

ʾšn

The hypocoristic form, *ʾšnʾ*, is found on a seal which mentions king Ahaz and is probably best understood to mean 'E(l) is strong', although the interpretation 'El is the pupil of my eye' is also possible.[112]

bny/w/h

The PN *ʾlʾbn* occurs in Ugaritic and OSA (see *ʾb* above).[113] It is possible that this name is derived from a passive form of √*bny*, 'it was El who built me'. The names *yabni-ilu*,[114] *ybnil*[115] and the Hebrew TN *ybnʾl*,[116] may be translated 'El built him/it'.[117] Worthy of consideration here is Ug. *ilabn*, which may mean 'I have been built by El'(cf. discussion at *ʾb* above). These personal names may be understood as corresponding to the Ug. title *bny bnwt* and seen to be evidence that El was the creator of mankind, but it is also possible — and perhaps more likely — that the verb *bny* refers to the command/blessing by El

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107 Gröndahl (1967: 217).

108 Worthy of consideration here is the meaning 'to complain (before DN)', which may recall the grief of the parents in the face of childlessness (Nu. 11:1).

109 Gen. 49:3; Deut. 21:17; Ps. 78:51 (for *ʾwnym*, read *ʾnm* with the versions); 105:36.

110 Hos. 12:4; Job 40:16; Isa. 40:26.

111 Hos. 12:9; Job 18:12; 20:10; Qoh. 1:16.

112 Sukenik (1941: 17-8).

113 Ugaritic: KTU 4.226:3; OSA: Oldenburg (1970: 192, n. 27).

114 EA 328:4; Amor. Huffmon (1965: 177).

115 KTU 4.84:4; KTU 4.141:i:8; KTU 4.148:3; KTU 4.160:2; KTU 4.183:i:21 ([yb]*nil*).

116 Josh. 15:11; 19:33.

117 For the TN compare the traditions preserved in Philo of Byblos that describe El as the founder of cities.

to future parents or to town builders that El has granted his permission for such an act to carried out by humans with, perhaps, his promise of protection that the end result will be successful.

bʿl

Although the interpretation 'Divine Baal' or, 'Baal is god' is possible, the standard interpretation of the Phoenician personal name *ʾlbʿl* as 'El/God is 'Lord/Master',[118] may refer to El's Phoenicio-Punic epithets *bʿl ḥmn*, 'Lord of the incense burner/Mount Ammanus',[119] *bʿl ʾdr*, 'Great Lord', as well as the use of the title *ʾdn*. As the recipient of child sacrifices, it might be expected that such a name would be used for a child who was to be offered to El in such a manner, but it must be assumed that the owner of this name is an adult, unless the inscription is to be connected with the offering of the child to the god. Alternatively, the title *bʿl* might also refer to El's role over the gods, or as the husband of Tanit or Asherah.

brk

The word *brk*, is a relatively common element in personal names.[120] Hebrew attests one name formed with the DN *ʾl*,[121] as does Ammonite.[122] This name is also recorded in The Report of Wenamun as *w3-r-k3-ti-r*.[123] The blessing would most likely be a reference to the conception or birth of the child.

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[118] Benz (1972: 266, 289).

[119] See Gray (1989; 37-40) for a different assessment.

[120] See Fowler (1988: 339)

[121] *brkʾl*, Job 32:2, 6. Zadok (1978: 73) noted an 'Aramaic' form **barīk-ʾil*.

[122] *brkʾl*, AS 53, Jackson (1983: 511).

[123] *Wen.* 2: 2. See Scheepers (1991: 46).

*brr(?)

The Presargonic name *I-bu$_3$-ur-il*, 'Il-stayed-in-Good-Health', according to Roberts, signifies that the child thus named is 'seen as a manifestation of Il'. He rejected the possibility that *il* is in the vocative, with the verb in the third person: 'He-Stayed-In-Good-Health-O-God', and instead preferred to see the divine name as subject.[124] This has important implications for the Heb. 'throne name' *ʿmnwʾl* and the possibility that the divinity of the king is alluded to.[125]

*g

Ugaritic *ilg*, 'El is the voice',[126] is perhaps best understood as a shortened form of a statement/prayer name that meant something like 'El is the voice (who pronounced/caused my being)', i.e. 'granted my parents a son', or blessed my parents with a son (**il g d ybrk abny ʿm bn*). Alternatively, this name may comprise a loanword from Akk. *lakû(m)*, 'suckling of', which is certainly a possibility and is found as a female personal name in Akkadian, *lakītu(m)*.[127] The Ugaritic name *lg* may have this meaning.[128] Compare here the use of Ph. *gr* and *grt*, 'protégé, client, whelp, fearer/worshipper', in personal names,[129] as well as the numerous names featuring *ʿbd*, 'servant, worshipper'.[130]

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124 Roberts (1972: 31 and 89 n. 205). Roberts notes that most of the names in his study have the DN as subject.

125 LXX: Isa. 7:14 (Εμμανυηλ); 8:8 (μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός).

126 KTU 4.751:11.

127 *CDA*, 176. See also Akk. *leqû(m)*, *CDA*, 180.

128 KTU 4.360:10. The name would comprise *il* + **lg*, assuming coalescence of the medial *lamed*: *il* + *lg* › *ilg*. No satisfactory etymology has been proposed for this root (see *lg* II *DLU*, 243).

129 Benz (1972: 103-7); Krahmalkov (2000: 142-4).

130 E.g. *DLU*, 69-71; Benz (1972: 369-72).

gbr

Most scholars translate this name 'man of El/God',[131] interpreting here the noun *gbr*, 'man', in construct with the DN *ʾl*. It is possible to see here the meaning 'strong',[132] especially by comparison with other Semitic PNs containing the lexeme *gbr* in a post-fixed position, demonstrating that this PN may be interpreted as the verb or noun indicating 'strength', given the unlikelihood that the formula *il(y)gbr* could mean 'El is a/my man', which would allow the interpretation, *gbryʾl*, 'El is strong', 'El is my strong one.'[133]

BH attests the name *gbryʾl* twice, in late literature,[134] as the name of an angel. However, as Noth observes, other angelic names appear as personal names.[135] At Ugarit we have the name *gbrn*,[136] which may be a shortened form of **ilgbrn*, or **gbrnil*.[137] Two possible attestations have emerged in Hebrew: (1) Aharoni restored an eighth century Yahwistic name, *gb*[ryhw] to an Arad ostracon;[138] (2) The PN *gbr* is written on a jar (dated to the late eighth/early seventh cent. BCE) found at Tell ʿIra in southern Judah, and may be hypocoristic.[139] The name is further attested in Edomite, Old Aramaic, Aramaic and Ḥatran, which support both interpretations of the name.[140]

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131 BDB, 150, Fowler (1988: 115). Gehman (1970:310) suggests this interpretation, but prefers, as does Noth (1966: 36, 190), the translation 'God has shown himself strong', both cited in Fowler (1988: 115).

132 Albright (1935: 193, n.66) translated this name 'God is my champion'.

133 Layton (1990: 134) considers this meaning 'the most plausible, ... (and) finds an exact parallel in the NA PN *gab-ri-ilu(DINGIR)* and the N/LB GN *gab-ri-il-lu*.'

134 Dan. 8:16; 9:21.

135 Michael, Raphael, and Uriel, Noth (1928: 190, n.1).

136 *CPU*: 535, no. 1338, KTU 4.141:II:19 (*gbrn*); 309:17 (*bn gbrn*); 730:6 (*gbrn*). Note also the PN *gbry*, KTU 4.296:13 (*CPU*: 535, no. 1337).

137 The ending *-n* could be either: first person sing. suffix; *-n energicum*; or a diminutive ending.

138 Tell Arad Ostracon 60:5-6, Aharoni (1981: 90). See also Davies (1991: 29, no. 2.060).

139 Davies (1991: 87, no. 13.003: *lgbr mgn*), which Layton (1990: 132) reads as *gbrmgn*. See also PN *gbr*, I Ki. 4:19, and the TN *gbr*, Ezra 2:20 (Aram.).

140 Edom. *qwsgbr*; O.Aram. *śʾgbr*; Aram. *gbrd*; Ḥat. *gbrhdd*, Layton (1990: 132).

Fowler noted the 'Babylonian' forms *'El-gab(a)r(i), Ilu-gabri/a* and *dAddu-gabri'* which suggest a nominal form for the Hebrew name,[141] while Layton mentioned a very late occurrence of this name, in a Christian Palestinian Aramaic papyrus.[142] The evidence suggests that names formed with *gbr* were relatively common throughout much of the ancient Near East.

gbr has no attested verbal application in the Ugaritic tablets published thus far. The verb occurs 25 times in BH,[143] nine of which are used in passages related to conflict.[144] The adjective *gbwr* is common, and is frequently used to signify military strength.

gml

The Hebrew name *gmlyʾl*,[145] recalls the epithet *bʿl gml*, 'Lord of fulfilment/accomplishment', which is attributed to El in the 'birth incantation' from Ugarit.[146] Without a doubt the word *gml*, in KTU 1.24, refers to El's role in childbirth.

gnn

The root *gnn* 'to shield, protect', is common Semitic.[147] The noun *mgn* 'shield', and the intensive verbal form (BH Piel, *mgn*, 'to hand over, deliver'), derive

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[141] Fowler (1988: 115).

[142] Layton (1990: 132). See also p. 131, for further cognate forms in Neo-Assyrian, and Babylonian contexts.

[143] *gbr*: qal × 16; piel × 3; hiph. × 2; hithp. × 3.

[144] The battle with Amalek (Ex. 17:11 [× 2]), the 'Song of Hannah' (1 Sam. 2:9), the 'Song of the Bow' which recounts the defeat of Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. 1:23), comparing the wicked man with a king of a besieged city (Job 15:25), a city after defeat (Lam. 1:16), a war oracle of *yhwh ṣbʾwt* (Zech. 10:6, 12), and finally, the deity going forth as a warrior (Isa. 42:13; Ps. 19:6).

[145] Nu. 1:10; 2:20; 7:54, 59; 10:23.

[146] KTU 1.24:42.

[147] Cognates are attested in Akkad. *ganānu* 'to lock up'; Ug. **gnn* 2 'to protect' (*UTGl*:

from this root.[148] Theophoric personal names formed from √*gnn* are rare, with only two definite examples available: Ugaritic *ilgn*, 'El protects',[149] and Punic *ʾsrgn*, 'Osiris protects' from Carthage.[150] Possible hypocoristic forms are attested in Ugaritic,[151] Ammonite,[152] and Punic.[153] In Biblical Hebrew the names *gynt*, *gntwy* and *gntwn* appear to derive from the fem. noun *gnt* 'garden'.[154]

The PN *ilgn* occurs once in Ugaritic, at the head of a list of archers residing in the town of *mʿrb(y)*.[155] A further example of *gnn* in Ugaritic may be present in the epithet *gn*, applied to Reshep.[156] Commonly translated as 'Reshep of the garden',[157] it has been suggested that a better interpretation may be 'Reshep the protector',[158] or 'Reshep of the shield',[159] wholly appropriate

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597); Heb. *gnn*, Aram. *ʾgn*, 'to enclose, fence, protect'; OSA *gnn* 4 (*hgn*) 'to protect'; Arab. *janna* 'to cover, protect'. See *DOSA*, 73 '*gn*' 'to enclose; n. "wall, enclose with a siege wall" ... perhaps related to Sem. root GNN "protect"'.

148 As does *gn*, *gnh*, 'garden'; *gnn*, 'gardener', and *gt*, 'wine-press'. See BDB, 170f. and NKB, 199.

149 Pope (1955: 22).

150 *CIS* 821:4. NKB, 199 described the name as Phoenician. Benz (1972: 29), however, noted that *CIS* 122-6068 are Punic, with the exceptions of inscriptions 144-6, and 162-3, which are deemed 'Phoenician because of their early date and script'. See Harris (1936: 80); NKB: 199; Benz (1972: 63, 272f., 297). Cf. also the Maltese-Punic *ʾsrš̌mr* 'Osiris keeps/protects' (KAI 47:2, 3), which Benz (1972: 273) relates semantically with *ʾsrgn*.

151 *gn*, KTU 4.75:v:17.

152 *gnʾ*, Nimrud Ostracon 6. Jackson (1983: 512) noted the 'possible cognates: BH (*gynt*, 1 Ki. 16:21); Phoen. *gnn*; Aram. *gnt* and Safaitic *jnʾt*'.

153 *gnn*: *CIS* 2931:30, Benz (1972: 297).

154 *gnt* may be an Israelian form, Rendsburg (1990: 23, 105). *gynt* (1 Ki. 16:21, 22), *gntwn* (Neh. 10:7; 12:6). BHS observes that our third form, *gntwy* (Neh. 12:4), was read as *gntwn* by some Latin Mss.

155 KTU 4.63:i:34. The town may in fact be called *mʿrb*, with the *-y* creating a gentilic: 'the Maʿarabites'. The archers are described (l. 33) as being *ǵmrm* '(new) recruits', or 'inexperienced (fighters)'.

156 KTU 4.219:3; KTU 1.165:2; KTU 6.62:2.

157 Conrad (1971: 173).

158 Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín (1974: 24).

159 Conrad (1971: 173), Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín (1974: 23).

titles for a god associated with plague and war.[160] Recent research, however, suggests that *gn* refers to the Eblaite town of Gunu (*gú-nu/núm*(ki)).[161]

In Biblical Hebrew the verb *gnn* occurs eight times in seven passages.[162] The subject of the verb is always Yahweh, while Jerusalem, or its inhabitants, is always the object.[163] Equally rare is the verb *mgn* (Piel) 'to deliver', › n.m. *mgn*, 'shield',[164] which appears three times, twice associated with military conflict, with deity as subject.[165] In the first passage the deity is called El-Elyon and is blessed by Melchizedek for delivering Abram's enemies into his hands (*mgn byd*). The second passage describes Yahweh deliberating over whether he should hand over Ephraim/Israel into the hand of the enemy. The psalmist described Yahweh's shield as a 'shield of protection, or victory' (*mgn*

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160 *ršp ṣbi*, KTU 1.91:15, and *ršp ḥṣ*, KAI 32:3, 4. In Egypt, during the 19th and 20th Dynasties, Reshep was worshipped as a war god (EA 35).

161 Xella (1997: 309-11).

162 2 Ki. 19:34 + 20:6b // Isa. 37:35 + 38:6b, respectively (all Qal pf.); Isa. 31:5 (v. 5a Qal impf. and v. 5b inf.); Zech. 9:15; 12:8 (both Qal impf.). NKB: 199 identifies all forms as Qal, while BDB, 170 observes that the Qal impf may well be Hiphil impf., 'defend'. Only Zech. 12:8 uses *bʿd*, the rest use *ʿl*, except 2 Ki. 19:34, which reads *ʾl* (the apparatus to MT suggests we read *ʿl* with Isa. 37:35).

163 Targum Onqelos (Gen. 7:16), avoiding an anthropomorphic description of Yahweh sealing up the ark, translates MT's *sgr* with *gnn* (+ *ʿl*), following the 'midrashic story that Noah's contemporaries sought to overturn the ark, whereupon God protected it by surrounding it with lions'. A further tradition asserts that 'God protected Noah against the wild beasts that were with him in the ark'. Westermann (1984: 412) observed that the ark is the primeval correspondent of the tabernacle, of which the later correspondent is the temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem.

164 Note also the verb *sgr* 'to shut, close', which in the Piel and Hiphil (+ *byd*) can also mean 'deliver up (X into Y's hands)': Piel: 1 Sam. 17:46; 24:19; 1 Sam. 18:28 (subj. Yahweh); 1 Sam. 26:8 (subj. Elohim). Hiphil: Deut. 32:30; Ps. 38:9; Lam. 2:7 (subj. Yahweh, although Deut. 32:30 implies a foreign god in the preceding colon); Ps. 78:50 (cf. v. 41); Job 16:11 (subj. El).

165 Gen. 14:20; Hos. 11:8. The meaning of the word in the third passage (Prov. 4:9) seems closer to Ug. *mgn*, 'gift'.

*yš*ᶜ),[166] while Yahweh himself appeared to Abram in a vision with the information: *ʾl tyrʾ ʾbrm ʾnky mgn lk*, 'Do not fear Abram, I am your shield'.[167]

grm

Attested as a name-element in Arabic, Nabatean,[168] and Palmyrene,[169] *grm*, 'to gnaw, crush (bones)', is not found in NWS PNs, although we do have the Hebrew gentilic form *grmy*.[170] The noun *grm*, 'bone' appears to signify strength also.[171] Occurrences of √*grm* in BH are few (× 10),[172] but the poetic passages are contexts associated with El.[173]

dwm / dml

Apparently formed from an imperative of **dwm*[174] + *l* + *ʾl*, this PN was originally published in 1968 by Horn, who rejected the possibility that the first syllable was *r* (*rmlʾl*) and translated the name as 'Wait on God'.[175] Porten later interpreted this name to mean 'Be silent before God' and noted the biblical passage, 'Be silent before the Lord and wait patiently for him'.[176] Note also the Yahwistic name *dmlyh* and the hypocoristic form *dmlʾ*. Although the verbal

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166 Ps. 18:36 // 2 Sam. 22:36, Kang (1989: 203).

167 Gen. 15:1.

168 Cross (1967: 426). Arab. *jarama*, n.m. *jirm* (*al-jirām as-samāwīya* 'the celestial bodies'), OSA noun (√*grm* 1) 1 'body, (bodily) life, health , *DOSA*: 76, Eth. *garama* 'to be awesome, fear-inspiring'.

169 Palm. *gᶜram* 'to decide', which Fowler (1988) relates to Syriac (p. 268), and suggests (p. 310) Aram. *krʾ*, Akkad. *temu* ('decision') as semantic equivalents.

170 1 Chr. 4:19. Noth (1928 : 240, no. 362) notes the form *grmy*, but offers no discussion.

171 Gen. 49:14.

172 Verb (× 3): Zeph. 3:3 (qal); Nu. 24:8; Ezek. 23:34 (piel); n.m. (× 6): Gen. 49:14; 2 Ki. 9:13; Job 40:18; Prov. 17:22; 25:15; Dan. 6:25 (Aram.); gent. 1 Chr. 4:19.

173 Nu. 24:8 and Job 40:18 (Behemoth).

174 The element *dm* could be formed from either *dwm*, *dmh* or, less likely, *dmm*.

175 Horn (1968: 41-3).

root *dml* does not occur in Hebrew, its occurrence in Arabic, 'to make peace', 'to heal', 'to cure',[177] suggests good alternatives for the suggestions offered by Horn and Porten.

dʿh

According to Fowler, *dʿh*, means 'to call' in the Hebrew names *ʾldʿh*[178] and *dʿwʾl*,[179] on the principle that the bearer of the name *ʾldʿh* is a Midianite, but there are other roots, also attested in OSA, such as 'to be wise', or 'to call upon/for', which are just as likely candidates.[180] Porten suggested the meaning 'Acknowledge El', and cited a biblical passage in support of this interpretation.[181]

dšr ?

The personal name *il-li-da-ša-ru* = **ildšr*(?), found at Ugarit, written in Cypro-Minoan script,[182] appears to be Semitic, although the element **dšr* is difficult and unattested in Semitic. The Eg. adj. *dšr*, 'red'(?), in the phrases *dšr ib* and *dšr ḥr* has the meaning 'to be furious',[183] while the noun means 'wrath', is possible ('Wrath of El'?), if the name-bearer was from Egypto-Semitic stock, or the son of immigrants, but we have no evidence to support such a view. Arab. *ḏtr*, 'to fall into oblivion, be forgotten' is obviously not connected with

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176 Ps. 37:7, Porten (1971: 48).

177 Diringer (*Le iscrizioni antico-ebraiche palestinesi* [Florence, 1934]: 163, 202-16), cited by Porten (1968: 43 and n. 10).

178 Gen. 25:4; 1 Chr. 1:33.

179 Num. 1:14; 7:42, 47; 10:20.

180 Fowler (1988: 341). The author compares the root with Arab. *daʿā*.

181 Porten (1971: 47). Prov. 3:6, 'in all your ways acknowledge him (*dʿhw*)', verbal imperative?

182 RS 20.25:10, E. Masson (1974: 46). The name occurs as a patronym: *da-ta-ni. pi-ni. i-li-da-ša-ru*, **dtn(y) bn il(y)dšr*.

our PN. One possibility is to see here *il* + rel. *d* + *šr* and translate the verb (*šr*) as passive: 'It is El who is sung (about)', while another is to understand the word *šr* to mean 'king', 'It is El who is king' or, in the light of the possibility that the name indicates a Cypriot individual, then *šr*, could mean 'husband'.[184]

Woudhuizen read the word as *i-li-ta-ma-ne* and understood it to be a TN.[185] He also interpreted *pi-ni* to mean 'representative', by comparing it to the use of Ug. *bn* in phrases such as *'bn alty, bn lky, bn mṣry, bn ṣrym*, etc. indicating an official representative'.[186] If his interpretation of the Cypro-Minoan signs on this tablet are correct, then the root *dšr* is erroneous. However, the root *tmn*, which could mean either 'appearance, figure',[187] or 'dexterity',[188] is found in the onomasticon of Ugarit.[189]

ḏrḥ

OSA *ḏrḥ'l*, 'El has risen/shone',[190] is interesting when we compare the use of the verb *zrḥ* in the inscription from Kuntillet ʿAjrud that describes El's appearance as the Divine warrior (see chapter eleven).[191]

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183 Faulkner (1999: 316).

184 Indicating his relationship with the Great Goddess of Cyprus, Astarte. See my discussion at *mt w šr* in the chapter on Ugarit above.

185 Woudhuizen (1994: 511f.). The reading by E. Masson (1974) on line 2 of *a-×-ḫe-pi* was corrected by Wooudhuizen to read *a-pe-sa*, which he identified with the TN Ephesos. He also recognized the 'Trojan heroic name Akamas' in this text (line 1). This seems highly unlikely and recalls the early attempts of scholars to locate the then newly discovered Ugaritic texts into the perceived world of the Late Bronze Age Levant as known from the Hebrew Bible.

186 Woudhuizen (1994: 512 and n. 22).

187 *DLU*, 470.

188 Gray (1965: 27, n. 6).

189 Note the names *tmn* (KTU 4.344:4); *ta-me-nu* (RSOu 7, 2:5′) and *tmnn* (KTU 4.734:12). Worthy of note also is *iltm* (KTU 4.86:16).

190 BDB, 280.

hll

In Biblical Hebrew, the PB *yhlPl* occurs twice.[192] The name also occurs in a fragmentary form, *yhl[Pl]*, on one of the inscribed *pithoi* found at Kuntillet ʾAjrud[193] and may be interpreted as meaning either 'El shines' or, 'He shall/Let him praise El'.

zkr

The name *ʾlzkr* 'El has remembered', or 'El remembers' occurs on two seals from Palestine[194] and is also attested in Ammonite,[195] which also attests the form *zkrʾl*.[196] Perhaps this name recalls the prayers of the parents for a son, which were answered by El. Such a name as this allows for the possibility that humans worried that the workings of the Heavenly Council took up so much of El's time that he might perhaps not remember their requests for his intervention in their attempts to prosper.[197] The name could be seen as evidence for the hope that, contrary to such concerns El still remembers to help man. Alternatively, the name may be an abbreviated incantation invoking El to never forget the name-bearer: 'O El, Remember (me)!'.

ḥzq

This personal name *yḥzqʾl* 'El is strong', 'El strengthens', or 'Let El strengthen' (Heb.),[198] offers further evidence that El was known to have warrior

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[191] Note the gentilic form *zrḥy*, Nu. 26:13.

[192] 1 Chr. 4:16; 2 Chr. 29:12.

[193] Cf. Meshel (1978, Inscriptions E [1]); Hadley (1987: 182); Davies (1991: 81, §. 8.017).

[194] *AHI* §§. 100 .42 and 100.43.

[195] *CAI*, 134:3.

[196] *CAI*, 47:9.

[197] Worthy of note here is the dedicatory formula *kšmʿ ql ybrk* (e.g. KAI 38:2).

[198] *ḥzq*, 'to be or grow firm, strong'.

characteristics. Weinfeld suggested the attractive proposal that *ḥzq* in 'David's testament',[199] which relates to Torah observance, originally 'referred to brutal daring in executing dynastic vengeance'.[200]

ḥy

The belief that El is responsible for life was a common theme in Ugaritic literature and, as we have seen above, provided many titles and epithets in Ugaritic mythology which extolled this role. It is, therefore, not surprising that we find √*ḥwy/ḥyy*, 'to live', associated with El in personal names in Amorite (*ya-aḫ-wi-*AN , *ya-aḫ-wi-el*, *l a* -[aḫ-]*wi-*AN),[201] Ugaritic (*ḥ y i l*),[202] Hebrew (*ḥy'l*),[203] and Nabatean (*ḥy'l*).[204] In almost every case (see Ug. *ilḥu* below) the divine name *'l* precedes the attribute *ḥy*. Although prior studies of names have seen here a verbal,[205] rather than a substantival form and accordingly translate the name as 'El lives', we shall discuss below some unusual evidence to support the view that the element *ḥy* in personal names that feature the divine name El should be understood, in some cases at least, as a substantive.

One of Keret's sons is named *ilḥu*.[206] De Moor and Spronk thought 'the element *-ḥu* of this name to be derived from the root *ḤWY*: **'ilu-ḥayyu* ("Ilu is the Living One") › **ilu-ḥāyu* (metathesis of quantity) › **ilu-ḥā'u*'.[207] If this interpretation is correct, this name is the only preserved occasion when the

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199 1 Ki. 2:3-4.

200 Weinfeld (1972: 5).

201 Huffmon (1965: 191-2).

202 KTU 2.26:3; KTU 4.427:14 (*ḥyi[l]*). For Ug. *ḥyil*, *ḥaya*-il, see Gröndahl (1967: 137).

203 1 Ki. 16:34. Although the LXX suggests that the Hebrew name *ḥî'ĕl* is a shortened form of Αχιηλ (*'ḥy'l*), 'My brother is El/God'. See Noth (1928: 14, n. 1; 140) for discussion.

204 Littman (1953: 21); Negev (1991: 28, no. 430; 117, no. 1527).

205 The Amorite examples are verbal.

206 KTU 1.16:i:46; ii:21, 33.

207 De Moor and Spronk (1982:184).

divine name *il* precedes the attribute *ḥy*. All other occurrences of this name have the divine name in second position. A substantival interpretation of *-ḥu* is also possible, with the final *u* representing the nominative form of the noun, with the *y* being coalesced to the final vowel: *-ḥyu* › *-ḥu*, which may also be seen in the vocalization of the Hebrew name *ḥîēl* (*ḥyʾl*). Understanding the Ugaritic personal name to be constructed with a noun is very appropriate, given Keret's condition, regarding progeny, prior to El's visit. El's association with childbirth also suggests the translation 'El is Life',[208] rather than 'El lives'.

The Greek personal name ΕΛΒΙΟΣ, 'El is life (?)',[209] is extremely interesting in that it appears to be constructed from the Semitic DN (*Ελ-*) and the Greek word for life (βίος), to form a personal name.[210] The initial aspiration in Masson's transcription (Ἑλβίος) suggests either, an original digamma (*Ϝελβιος) or, less likely, a sigma (*σελβιος).[211] But this is unlikely, given that the digamma was long extinct from the Cretan dialect by the third century BCE at the very latest, never mind such a late date as the first century CE.[212] Coupled with the parallel form Ἔλδιος (see discussion at *ʾl(y)ʾl* above), it is more likely that the name is a partial translation of an original Semitic **ʾlḥy* (√*ḥwy/ḥyy*, 'to live'), which, for some reason, has retained the Semitic word for 'god' or, more precisely the divine name 'El'.[213] The Greek PN also suggests that the element *ḥy* in Semitic names could be a nominal rather than a

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208 See the name *mḥwyʾl*, written immediately afterwards as *mḥyyʾl* (Gen. 4:18).

209 Attested at Kydonia, Crete and dated to the first century (81-96) CE. See *LGPN*, 149.

210 Cf. Ἔλδιος and the name Ἔλυρος, which appears to be a straight transcription of the Semitic name *ʾl(y)wr*, with the Greek grammatical termination, such as we find in the LXX.

211 If correct, perhaps a shortened form of *Σελ(ην)βιος, 'the moon-goddess is life', a name-form unattested in the Greek onomasticon?

212 Personal communication from Jean-Pierre Olivier.

213 Given the date of this name, it is possible that this name is influenced by mythographic identification of El and Kronos. On the other hand, it might be explained by a Semitic immigrant marrying into a Cretan family, who chose to retain the name El for his god, rather than adopt a Greek form.

verbal form.[214] While the Semitic name *ḫyil* is well attested, we have no preserved instances of the form *ʾlḫy*, so if this interpretation is indeed correct, it offers valuable information for names formed with *ḫw/yy*. Ug. *ḫyl* is probably a variant form of *ḫyil*.[215] The equation Akk. *ḫ* = Ug. *ḫ* most likely explains this name-form.[216]

yd

The personal name *ilbd*, which is found in an inventory list from Ras Ibn Hani,[217] is best understood as a shortened statement of affirmation proclaiming El's role in the process of procreation or childbirth: 'El has blessed with his hand', i.e., 'El (taking the cup) in (his) hand (has blessed my father with a son)': **ks yḫd il bdh w ybrk aby*, the situation we find in *Aqhat*.[218] The name *bdil* is found at Ugarit and on an Ammonite seal dated to the end of the sixth century BCE.[219] The common interpretation 'in the hand of El' (*bd* › *byd*), suggests an abbreviated form of a longer sentence as we have already discussed. However, another possibility is a formation from the root *bdd*, 'El alone', i.e., 'El is my only god'. But there is nothing in Ugaritic religion to support such an interpretation and it is, therefore, less likely than the first.

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214 Noth (1928: 14; 140).

215 Gröndahl (1967: 16, 96, 137).

216 See *PRU* ii, 203. Note The name *mḫwyʾl*, written immediately afterwards as *mḫyyʾl* (Gen. 4:18), perhaps supports the evidence from the Greek.

217 KTU 4.783:7.

218 KTU 1.17:i:34ff. For a discussion and list of the use of *aḫd* + prep. *b*, see Pardee (1975: 340).

219 *CAI*, 135:2.

*yd*ᶜ

This root is further evidence of El's character as a god of wisdom or intelligence. The biblical name *ydyʿl*,[220] could even refer to El's knowledge of man's inner desires or thoughts, but it is more likely a reference to the characterization we of him in the mythological texts from Ugarit.

ytn ?

Although written in Cypro-Minoan script, the name *i-li-te-ni*[221] is Semitic, reflecting, perhaps, **ilytn*. This name is intriguing in the light of the Greek traditions of Kronos, who is identified with El by Philo of Byblos, for the root *ytn* can mean either 'to sleep', or 'to grow old', aspects of Kronos previously found in Greek tradition.[222] El's great age is also referred to at Ugarit. Further possibilities for this name, given that the use of Cypro-minoan script possibly indicates non-Semitic phonological and/or orthographic spellings of many names, we might see here *ilytn*, 'El has given' or even *ilydn*, 'El has judged'. the root may also be *tny*, 'to change, alter' (cf. Heb. *šnh*), where we have a nice passage from the *Psalms*, which may reflect the kind of events we find in both *Keret* and *Danel*, given that El appears to be the deity this psalm is directed towards:

Ps. 77:10-11

hškh ḫnwt ʾl	Has El forgotten to be gracious,
ʾm-qpṣ bʾp rḥmyw	in anger, indeed, compassion?
wʾmr	And I say,

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220 1 Chr. 7:6, 10, 11; 11:45; 12:20; 26:2.

221 RS 20.25:9.

222 See my discussion of the epithets applied to Kronos, in chapter six above.

ḥlwty ḥy² šnwt ymyn ᶜlywn	it is my grief that the right hand of Elyon has changed.

kwn

The Ug. PN *yknil*, 'El has created',[223] appears to be an impf. G form of √*kn* < **kwn*. Interestingly, when this verb is predicated of El, the L form is always used,[224] with the G form describing human begetting.[225] This word has been extensively discussed in chapter three above.

mhr

The personal name *²lmhr* is preserved on three Ugaritic administration tablets.[226] We may be justified in identifying three owners of this name, although it is possible that the tablets describe one individual. Pope translated this PN as 'El is swift',[227] but there is no evidence that *mhr* had this neutral meaning at Ugarit. Watson noted the use of *mhr* in the PN *ᶜbdmhr* 'servant of the warrior'[228] which supports our translation 'El is the warrior'[229]. Ug. *mhr*, 'warrior',[230] occurs on some 19 occasions,[231] describing Thamaq as the warrior

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223 KTU 4.86:15; KTU 4.165:12.

224 KTU 1.3:v:36; KTU 1.4:i:[6]; iv:48; KTU 1.10:iii:6; KTU 1.117:[3].

225 KTU 1.17:i:25, 42.

226 KTU 4.63:i:9; KTU 4.631:18; KTU 4.775:10. Note also Syll. DINGIR.UR.SAG (PRU 3, 169 (RS 16.145):5, 10, PRU 3, 194 (RS 11.839):21 and PRU 6, 53 vo. 9′) and *m*[a]-*aḫ-ḫu-ram* 'young hero' (*Ug.* v:137:ii:24).

227 Pope (1955: 230).

228 Watson (1995: 226), KTU 4.769:14. Alternatively, the element *il-* may be appellative (suggesting, possibly, Resheph or Baal is the god, which would also suit the name *ᶜbdmhr*), but perhaps we should expect, as in the Phoenician PN, *mhrbᶜl* (Segert [1984: 191]).

229 Cross (1967: 426) translated as 'El is a warrior' but note, however, Anderson (1970: 46) who observed that the predicate in personal names is always definite.

230 *mhr*, 'runner, warrior'. Gibson (1978: 151) related Ug. *mhr* to Heb. √*mhr* I, 'swift', Eg. *mhr* 'to be violent'; n. 'soldier, trained warrior, young warrior' (on the latter, cf. Lichtheim [1976: 15, n.15]). OSA *mhr* III 'elite corps' (*DOSA*: 268); Heb. adj. *mhyr*

of Baal and Anat,[231] and Yatipan the warrior employed by Anat to kill Aqhat[233] after his refusal to give her the bow made by Kothar-wa-Hassis with the retort, 'bows are for warriors, will women now hunt?'.[234] The human victims of Anat's martial activity[235] are called *mhrm*, as also are the guests invited to her victory banquet.[236]

Huffmon compared Amorite *mḫr* with Ug. *mhr*, 'hero, soldier', and suggested the name *ma-aḫ-rí-el*,[237] from the post-Ur III period at Mari, as a possible attestation of this 'theophoric element' in a personal name.[238]

Biblical Hebrew does not, apparently, employ the noun *mhr*, 'warrior', but the verb ('rush, hasten') and adverb ('quickly'), occur in more than a few passages concerned with war, as the following examples illustrate. As a verb, Heb. *mhr* describes: the eager movement of soldiers towards the battlefield,[239] the rush of combatants against each other,[240] the hastening up the city wall

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'prompt, skilled'. Mention must be made of the problematic *mhrh* (KTU 1.18:iv:38), which Wyatt (1998: 286, n. 158), citing Wright (1994) corrects to *mpʾrh* 'his pulse' (from Eg. *npṯpṯ*) (and 1.18:iv:26, *mprh*, which some correct to *mhʾrh*). The noun *mhr* (√*mhr* II) 'dowry' accounts for the four further citations in *CPU* (KTU 1.24:19; 1.100:73, 74, 75).

231 *CPU*: 1283f., no. 3408-12: KTU 1.3:ii:11, 15, 21, 28, 35; KTU 1.10:i:11; KTU 1.13:7; KTU 1.17:vi:40; KTU 1.18:iv:6, 11, 26, 27, 38; KTU 1.19:iv:52, 56; KTU 1.22:i:8, 9; ii:7; KTU 4.176:7; KTU 4.214:i:5 (assuming the noun in KTU 4.176 and 214 describes military personnel).

232 KTU 1.22:i:8 and, possibly, KTU 1.22:ii:7. Wyatt (1998: 321, n. 38) suggested Thamaq is Shimegi the Hurrian sun-god. Zorn (1991: 133) noted that Ramses ii is called 'the warrior of Anat' on at least five stelae: 'the Hittite marriage stelae from Abu Simbel, Elephantine and Karnak, its rendering in the 'abridged' version of the Marriage stela (and) in Tanis obelisk i.'

233 KTU 1.18:iv:6, 11, 27; KTU 1.19:iv:52, 56.

234 KTU 1.17:vi:40.

235 KTU 1.3:ii:11 (+ // KTU 1.10:i:11); KTU 1.3:ii:15, 28 and 35.

236 KTU 1.3:ii:21.

237 This name is to be found in Gelb (1956: 9, no. 20).

238 Huffmon (1965: 229-30).

239 Josh. 8:14; 1 Sam. 23:27.

240 Josh. 8:19; 1 Sam. 17:4.

during a siege,[241] the rush of troops to meet king after victory,[242] the speed of a messenger from the battlefield.[243] Adverbially we find the injunction to clear Canaan of its inhabitants,[244] plus the fem. noun (used adverbially) *mhrh*, 'quickly' (of ambush)[245] and a description of an invading army.[246] This view may be applied to our Ugarit PN, yielding an interpretation consonant with the biblical examples: 'El is a swift warrior' or, 'Be a swift warrior, El'. In Biblical Hebrew, the PN *mhry* is attributed to one of the thirty in the catalogue of David's heroes.[247] The name may be a Yahwistic hypocoristic form of **mhryh*, 'Yah is a warrior', comparable with the Phoenician PN *mhyr*, itself most likely a shortened form of *mh(y)rbʿl*.[248]

mr

We may interpret the Ugaritic Toponym *mril*[249] as 'El expels',[250] or 'El is strong[251]/has strengthened'.[252] or 'El has blessed'.[253] In syllabic tablets we find

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241 Nahum 2:5.

242 2 Sam. 19:17.

243 1 Sam. 4:14.

244 Deut. 7:4, 22.

245 Josh. 8:19.

246 Isa. 5:26.

247 2 Sam. 23:28. See also 1 Chr. 11:30, and 27:13. LXX B for 2 Sam. 23:28 and 1 Chr. 11:30 records the name as Νοερε and Νεερε, respectively (**nʿry*). The verb *nʿr* 2 (piel), 'shake off, hurl, throw', describes Yahweh hurling the Egyptians into the sea (Ex. 14:27 and Ps. 136:15).

248 Note Amor. *mhrybʿl* and *mhrbʿl*, dated to the New Kingdom, Huffmon (1965: 230).

249 Van Soldt (1996: 678, plus notes 200-203), located eight occurrences of TN *mril* in alphabetic texts, those cited by *CPU*, plus KTU 4.94 r.[1]; KTU 4.303:[1]; KTU 4.610:ii:30!; KTU 4.621:13; 'and probably' KTU 4.622:[1]. Mara'il (*mril*) was a border town, located in the vicinity of *Jebel el-Aqra* (van Soldt [1997: 694]) and formed an adminstrative unit with the towns of *Ḫalbu-ṣapuni* (*ḥlb ṣpn*) and *ʿÊnu-makâ* (*ʿnmky*). For the relationship of these towns, see KTU 4.68:50-52.

250 Gibson (1978: 152), *mr* 'to expel, drive away'.

251 *CPU*: 1363, no. 3698, plus fragments. *mril*: KTU 4.68:51; 4.267:3; 4.345:9. Cross (1967: 426), Fowler (198: 74). Miller (1973: 206, n. 165) writes, 'Eissfeldt (1951: 46) follows Virolleaud in questioning whether *il* at the end of this name represents the Semitic *il*'.

the toponym: URU*ma-ra-el* and URU*ma-ra*-DINGIR.[254] This name does not occur in Hebrew, but is attested in Ammonite.[255] Biblical Hebrew offers no help in identifying the correct interpretation of theophoric PNs containing the element *mr*. The form *mrily*,[256] identified by van Soldt as a gentilic may actually be a PN.[257]

Given the 'super-archaic' nature of toponyms,[258] Ug. *mril* may derive from as early as the fourth millennium. Coupled with the Ammonite PN, it attests a long pedigree for this name, whether geographical or personal.[259] As a toponym, the interpretation 'bless' seems the most appropriate, but a connection with 'strength' should, however, not be ruled out.

mš²/h

In *Acts* a magician from Paphos, Cyprus is named Ἐλύμας,[260] which appears to be a name compounded with the DN *²l* + either *mš²* (Heb. *mś²*), 'El has

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[252] Fowler (198: 74), OA √*mr*, 'lord' (Arab. *mr*ʿ, Sab. *mr*ʾ 'man').

[253] NKB: 638 *mrr* I, 'to strengthen, fortify, bless' (Arab. *marîru* 'strong, steady'; Late Heb. *mr*, Ezek. 3:14; Qoh. 7:26 // *brk*). Gibson (1978: 152). Gibson (1978: 152) noted the place name *mr* (*Ug*. V no. 7 E l. 2 [= KTU 1.100:78]. *KTU*², 115, *mrh*), 'Mari' (Wyatt 1998: 387).

[254] URU*ma-ra-el*: RS 11.830[PRU 3,190]:10, (van Soldt [1996: 678]). URU*ma-ra*-DINGIR: RS 17.340[PRU 4, 48] r.7'; RS 19.41[PRU 6, 78]:23-24; 34.131[*UG*. 7, 4]:17 (van Soldt [1996: 678]).

[255] As a PN, we find *mr²l* on Ammonite seal 47 (Jackson [1983: 514, §. 66]), which may be related etymologically to *mril*. Cf. Avigad (1970: 285), Hammond (1960: 38f.). Jackson offers no translation for this name, but notes the 'possible cognates' Ug. URU*ma-ra-el* and *mril*, both classified as toponyms, and Saf. *mr²l*. Layton (1990: 184, n. 152), however, translated this Ammonite name as 'man of El', comparing it to the North Arabian PN *mr²l*.

[256] KTU 4.625:22 and 4.750:1.

[257] KTU 4.750:1-2, van Soldt (1996: 678).

[258] Layton (1990: 4); Fronzaroli (1977: 146).

[259] There is no means of determining any difference of meaning between the use of *mr-* (/*m-r*) in either TN or PN construction.

[260] Acts 13:8. See also *LGPN*, 151.

pronounced', *mšh*, 'Born of El', *mṭ*, 'lad',[261] or even *mśś/mss* (niphal), 'to melt', which would relate this name to the events recounted in the plaster inscription from Kuntillet ʿAjrud (see above) where El is presented as the divine warrior.

mšyzb

The occurrence of the name *mšyzbʾl*, 'El saves', in Biblical Hebrew[262] is interesting in that it is clearly a Mesopotamian name. Noth described *mšzb* as an Aramaic loanword in Hebrew,[263] but already this is itself a loanword, derived from Akk. *mušēzib*, 'to save, rescue', a popular element in Akkadian theophoric names.[264] Another possibility for this personal name is to see a derivation from Eg. *ms*, 'to beget', although the following element *yzb* (√*zbb*, 'to flow'?) seems difficult if it is Semitic. At present no firm conclusion may be reached here.

ndb

The personal name, *ndbʾl*, 'El has shown his generosity', according to Avigad, 'seems to have been very popular among the Ammonites.'[265] This name appears to pronounce confidence in the belief that El would answer the requests made by his worshippers. Jackson translated the name as 'El is noble'.[266] The word occurs in the Ugaritic name *ndby*,[267] but appears to be absent from the Amorite onomasticon. Phoenician uses *ndb* in the personal

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261 See Gröndahl (1967: 161).

262 Neh 3:4 (LXX: Μασεζεβηλ); 10:22 (LXX: Μεσωζεβηλ); 11:24 (LXX: Βασηζα).

263 Noth (1928: 156).

264 *CDA*, 222. Note that the shield-bearer was called *ša mušēzibtu*, lit. 'he who protects'.

265 Avigad (1970: 286f.). See Pl. 30: 4.

266 Jackson (1983: 514), who also noted Palm. *ndbʾl* (Stark, 1971: 39).

267 KTU 4.33:38; KTU 4.55:[21]. Note also the PNs *ndbd* (KTU 4.15:9); *ndbn* (KTU 4.424:23).

names, *ʾbndb* and *ʾḥndb*,[268] as does Moabite in **kmšndb*.[269] In Hebrew the basic meaning of the verb *ndb* seems to be 'to impel, stir' and said of the heart (*lb*)[270] and of vigour (*rwḥ*).[271] Although *ndb* appears to be quite a popular word in forming Hebrew personal names,[272] there are none formed with the DN *ʾl* + *ndb* in BH. Fowler noted at least one EB occurence, if the seal is not Ammonite.[273] There is not enough evidence from Ammonite to determine the meaning of *ndb* in Ammonite personal names. Whether it is related to Phoenician, 'to be noble', or the Hebrew, 'to stir (rouse/revive?)', one cannot say.

nqm

El-personal names are attested with the root *nqm*, 'vindicate, avenge'in Amorite, such as *ya-qí-im*-A[N],[274] and A-*an-qí-im*-AN.[275] At Ugarit the root is attested in Baal-personal names (cf. the Ug. PN *nqmd*, 'Hadd avenges'). Further, the name with this meaning may occur in BH, if we interpret the PN *ʾlyqym* (which occurs in Sabaean as *hqmʾl*, and *yqmʾl*[276]) as deriving from a causative formation of √*nqm* (‹ *yqym*), rather than the common view √*qwm*, 'to rise', translating the name as 'El vindicates, avenges'.

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[268] Benz (1972: 359) translated *ndb* as 'noble'.

[269] See here Benz (19972: 359), who quoted an Akkadian transliteration of the name: *Kam-mu-su-na-da-bi* (Senn. ii:56).

[270] Ex. 25:2; 35:9.

[271] Ex. 35:21.

[272] The names *nbdyh, yhwndb, ʾbyndb, ʾḫyndb, ʿmyndb, ndb*.

[273] Fowler (1988: 351).

[274] *ARM* VII.196.8'; 216.6.

[275] Huffmon (1965: 242).

[276] BDB, 45.

ssr?

The personal name *ssrʾl* is attested on a seal dated to *ca.* 750-700 BCE, and classified as Aramaic.[277] The word *ssr* is extremely difficult and is, perhaps, a *hapax legomenon*. No meaning for *ssr* may be offered with any confidence at this time, although it may possibly be related to Akk. *šaššāru(m)*, 'a saw' › **√ššr ‹ ssr*, 'to cut?', but even this is doubtful, no more than a guess.[278]

ʿz

Names featuring *ʿz*, 'to be strong'; 'strength', are compounded with various theophoric names, such as *bʿl*, *mlqrt*, *ʿštrt*, *tnt*, *gd* and *ʾl*.[279] It is unclear whether *ʿz* carries a verbal or substantival force. The Amorite name *Ú-zu-na-*AN attests to the use of this word in names describing El.[280] At Ugarit, the word does not appear to be a popular name-building word and does not include El in the meagre amount preserved.[281] Hebrew has the forms *ʿzyʾl*,[282] *ʾlʿwzy*[283] and (extra-biblically) *ʿzʾl*. The vocalizations *ʿuzzîēl* and *ʾelʿūzay* suggest suggests a passive meaning: 'El strengthened me', is interesting and may perhaps be compared with the scene in *Aqhat* where El blesses and strengthens Danel in order that he may conceive a child, although in that

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277 Parayre (1993: 46, no. 33).

278 *CDA*, 362.

279 Benz (1972: 374). *ʾl* does appear with *ʿz* in Ph. personal names. At Ugarit, the only theophoric element is the DN *bʿl*: *ʿzbʿl*, KTU 1.102:27. The DN *gd* may occur in BH, e.g. Ezr. 2:12; 8:12; Neh. 7:17.

280 Huffmon (1965: 160).

281 *ʿzbʿl*, KTU 1.102:27; *ʿzn*, KTU 4.35:i:9; KTU 4.76:1; etc.

282 Six people bear the name vocalized *ʿᵉzîʾēl*: 1) Ex. 6:18, 22; Lev. 10:4; Nu. 3:19, 30; 1 Chr. 5:28; 6:3; 15:10; 23:12, 20; 24:24. 2) 1 Chr. 4:43. 3) 1 Chr. 7:7. 4) 1 Chr. 25:4, 18 (MT: *ʿzyʾl*; marg. *ʿzrʾl* with the vss.). 5) 2 Chr. 29:14. 6) Neh. 3:8. Once we find the vocalization *ʿuzzîēl*, 1 Chr. 15:20.

283 1 Chr. 12:6.

passage the verb used is *mr*.[284] Hypocoristic forms appear to have been popular.[285]

ʿzr

Although no Amorite PNs featuring *ʿzr* (Amor. **ḫzr*), 'to help', and the DN *ʾl* are attested, the Akkadian name *Ya-aḫ-zi-ir*-AN. was noted by Huffmon.[286] The personal names *ʿzrʾl*,[287] *ʾzryʾl*,[288] *ʾḫʿzr*[289] and *ʾlyʿzr*,[290] as well as the variant form *ʿdryʾl*,[291] occur in Biblical Hebrew. The word is popular in Phoenician names, with Baal a popular element. It is possible that the name *ʿzrʿl* features the DN *ʾl* (< *ʿl*).[292] Ammonite attests both *ʾḫʿzr* and *ʿzrʾl*.[293]

The common translation offered for theophoric names featuring *ʿzr* is 'DN is (my) helper'. However, In the light of the comments of Dahood,[294] who draws attention to the Ugaritic phrase *il ṯʿḏr bʿl*, 'the gods who help Baal' presumably in battle or in his decision-making in the divine council, this name could mean, 'He helps El' and may equate the child with one of the gods who help El on the battlefield, or suggests which claim is to be supported in the divine council.[295] The form *ʿzryʾl*[296] may include the *hireq compaginis*, and be

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284 KTU 1.17:i:23-24.

285 E.g. BH 2 Sam. 6:3, 6f.; 2 Ki. 21:18, 26, etc. Ph., see Benz (1972: 165); OAram., Nimrud Ostr. 1:4.

286 Huffmon (1965: 193).

287 Ezra 10:41; Neh. 11:13; 12:36; 1 Chr. 12:6; 25:18; 27:22.

288 Jer. 36:26; 1 Chr. 5:24; 27:19.

289 Ex. 6:23-Josh. 24:33 (*passim*); Ju. 20:28; 1 Sam. 23:9; Ezr. 7:5; 8:33; Neh. 12:42; 1 Chr. 5:29f.; 6:35; 9:20; 11:12; 23:21f.;24:1-6, 28.

290 Gen. 15:2; Ex. 18:4; Ezr. 8:16; 10:18, 23, 31; 1 Chr. 7:8; 15:24; 23:15, 17; 26:25; 27:16; 2 Chr. 20:37.

291 1 Sam. 18:19 (some manuscripts read *ʿzryʿl*); 2 Sam. 21:8 (some Mss. *ʿzryʾl*).

292 Benz (1972: 375f.).

293 *ʾḫʿzr*, AS 32, AS 35; *ʿzrʾl*, H 3:3, AS 55, Jackson (1983: 510; 515).

294 Dahood (1977: 465, §. 47.144).

295 These gods are those who invoke the name of El on the day of battle as is depicted in

merely a variation of *ʿzrʾl*, or the *y* may be the personal suffix, which would demand the meaning, 'My helper is El'.

ʿm

Names with *ʿm*, 'uncle, paternal relative' (meaning protector), may refer to a deceased human as having divine qualities,[297] such as those accorded the Rapiuma at Ugarit, but it is also possible that the divine relative is idealized as El, such as we find in the Amorite name *Ḥa-mu*-AN,[298] Hebrew *ʿmyʾl*,[299] and Ph. *ʿmʾ*[l], *ʿmyl* and *ʾlʿm*.[300] If this is so, then it is possible that *ʿm* was once used as an epithet of El

ʿmnw

In Isaiah,[301] we encounter the statement *ʿmnwʾl*, 'El is with us', which many have understood to be the name of the child mentioned in the birth announcement. If this is a personal name, it is physical evidence for the view that many, if not all, Semitic personal names were originally sentence-names, which were later abbreviated. This view is also supported by the evidence that such abbreviated names were further abbreviated losing, for example, either the final *l* of the divine name *ʾl*, or even losing the DN altogether. Rather than being understood as a personal name, this construction is perhaps better understood to be evidence of the belief that the Israelite king was understood to be divine; El's heir or representative on earth.

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the inscription from Kuntillet ʿAjrud and who may also be referred to in Gen. 6:3 (see my discussion in the chapter on Kuntillet ʿAjrud below).

296 BH: Jer. 36:26; 1 Chr. 5:24; 27:19.

297 See the discussion of Huffmon (1965: 196-7).

298 Huffmon (1965: 164).

299 Nu. 13:12; 2 Sam. 9:4, 5; 17:27; 1 Chr. 3:5; 26:5.

300 Benz (1972: 379).

ʿqb

The occurrence of the name *yʿqbʾl*, 'May El Protect',[302] in the Amorite onomasticon, coupled with the appearance of the Palestinian TN *yʿqbiʾr*[303] in the list of Tuthmoses (15th cent. B.C.E.),[304] suggests that the more ancient verbal meaning for *ʿqb*, 'to protect' is to be preferred over the traditional understanding of the name Jacob. Hendel correctly observed that the idea that *ʿqb*, 'ankle' is involved in the meaning of this name is a literary play on words.[305]

Freedman showed that Deut. 33:28 actually features the original form of Jacob's name, although MT has clearly misunderstood the text, or reinterpreted the divine name *ʾl* as the preposition 'to, towards'. His interpretation is supported by the fact that in the emended text **yʿqb-ʾl* occurs parallel with *yśrʾl*, the two names of Jacob:[306]

Deut. 32:8

yškn yśrʾl bṭḥ	Israel dwells in safety,
bdd ʿn yʿqb-ʾl	in security[307] Jacob-el settles,
ʾrṣ dgn wtrš	(in) a land of grain and must
ʾp šmw yʿrp-ṭl	indeed, his sky drips dew.

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301 Isa. 7:14; 8:8.

302 The root *ʿqb*, 'protect' is found in Amor., Eth. and OSA.

303 See Simons (1937: 113, 118)

304 Albright (1957: 237, n. 51) noted the appearance of this name as a Palestinian TN in the list of Tuthmosis (15th cent. B.C.E.) and also in the earlier tablets from Chagar Bazar dating from the eighteenth century as *ya-aḥ-qu-ub-il(um)*.

305 Hendel (1987: 111, n. 34).

306 Freedman (1963: 125-6).

307 Understanding here the root *dwd*, with the extended meaning 'security' from 'love'. From a suggestion of N. Wyatt

It is also interesting to note that Esau's name may also be interpreted with the same meaning as Jacob's has here, 'to protect', while the parallelism here suggests that the name Israel carries the meaning 'El fights'.

ʿšn

The Ammonite personal name *ʿšnʾl*, which has been translated as 'Wrath of El', or 'El is angry'.[308] If this translation is indeed correct, it supports the view that many Semitic personal names are in fact abbreviated sentences. Such a name provokes, depending on the translation, the question 'at what?', or 'why?'. That an individual would be called by such a name seems unlikely. It would be more probable that the name meant something like **ʿšnʾl ʿm ʿyby*, 'the wrath of El is with/for/against my enemies', signifying perhaps a warrior name. Or, if there was a theological nuance to this name, **lm ʿšn ʾpk ʿmnw ʾl*, 'O why are you angry with us, O El?'.[309]

ġyr

The North Arabian name *ġyrʾl* (Γαιρηλος),[310] 'Protection is El', or 'El protects' is interesting when we observe that the verbal form is used in epistolary greetings in Ugaritic: *ilm tġrk tšlmk*, 'Let the gods protect you and keep you well'.[311] The parallelism of *ġr* (= Heb. *ʿyr*) with *šlm*, is also found in Job:

Job 8:5-6

ʾm-ʾth tšḥr ʾl-ʾl	But if you seek El,

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[308] Aufrecht (1989: 16), who cites BDB, 798.

[309] Cf. Ps. 74:1.

[310] Zayadine (1999: 314), inscription 2b.

[311] See e.g. KTU 2.1:[1-2]; KTU 2.4:[4-5] + *tġrk*; KTU 2.6:4-[5], order reversed; KTU 2.11:7-9; KTU 2.13:7-8, variant form.

w²l-šdy tthnn	and supplicate Shaddai,
²m zk wyšr ²th	If you are blameless and upright,
ky-²th y^{c}yr ^{c}lyk	then he will protect you,
wšlm nwt ṣdqk	and grant well-being to your righteous home.

Understanding *ġyr* as a nominal form would allow comparison with the use of *ṣwr*, 'rock, support' in Hebrew personal names.[312]

p

The Ug. PN *piln*[313] is difficult[314] and has, therefore, barely been discussed.[315] I propose here that the name probably derives from an original statement uttered at birth, something like: **p il bn ndrn* 'The mouth (= command) of El promised us a son', or **p il bn brkn*, 'the mouth/command of El has blessed us with a son'. The syntax of the statement may be slightly different with *bn* in the final position, although it is more likely that the verbal suffix completed the phrase. This interpretation accords well with the circumstances by which Danel procured a son (KTU 1.17) and the observation that one of El's principle roles was the safe outcome of childbirth, although other positive results such as 'prosperity' (e.g. *ṯwb*, *gml*) are possible.[316]

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[312] *ṣwry²l* (Nu. 3:35); *ṣwryšdy* (Nu. 1:6; 2:12; 7:36, 41; 10:19). Note also Ug. *ġr*, 'mountain'.

[313] KTU 4.278:7.

[314] See here e.g. *DLU*, 341 and Gröndahl (1967: 36, 91, 170).

[315] Heltzer (1980: 414).

[316] Interestingly *kšr* can also mean 'to give prosperity', while the Ugaritic the Kotharat are goddesses of childbirth, suggesting that PNs containing words meaning 'to prosper', 'prosperity' quite possibly refer to the birth of children as personal wealth.

pgʿ

Confirmation that the element *pgʿ* was used in theophoric names is found in the Edomite PN *Pgʿqws*, attested twice on an ostracon found at *Ezion Geber*, which Albright identified as Edomite, and dated to the first half of the sixth century BCE.[317] Albright translated the name as 'Entreat Qaus', 'Qaus is my prayer', 'Qaus is entreated', but given the prevalence of violence or misfortune associated with the Arabic root, perhaps the name should be translated 'Qaus is terror' (*fājiʿ*), or 'Qaus avenges me'.[318] There is also the Thamudic hypocoristic form *Pgʿ* attested in four inscriptions dated to the Persian period.[319] Both these contexts (together with the association of the Exodus traditions with this area), suggest a possible Southern Semitic (Edomite) influence regarding the use of the element *pgʿ* in personal names.[320]

There is no evidence of √*pgʿ* in Ugaritic[321] or Akkadian.[322] The root is attested in Phoenician (Punic), Aramaic and Arabic.[323] A cognate is also found in Egyptian (18th Dyn.) *pgȝ*, 'kill (enemies)', related to Semitic √**pag-*, 'to strike'.[324] This may be a Semitic loan-word, thus attesting this Semitic root in the Late Bronze Age. However, the antiquity of this root is not the issue, but

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317 Ostr. 6043: 5, 9), Albright (1941).

318 Cowan (1994: 817).

319 Albright (1941: 13, n.7).

320 Tigay notes that of more than 1200 pre-exilic Israelite names, 90% are from the south (Judah), with the remaining 10% from the north (1986: 9 and nn.15-18).

321 Pope (1981: 317) suggested the restoration of *p*[g^{c}] to the damaged section of KTU 1.4:iii:15 (some ten lines are missing from the end of the preceding column, while about 20 lines from the top of this column are either missing or extremely fragmentary). Pope's reconstruction has not received any acceptance. For example, Pope (1981: 317) and Wyatt (1998: 96).

322 I can find no Akk. cognate for *pgʿ*.

323 BDB, 803, suggest Arabic influence on the Aramaic root. In Arabic, the root is popular, as may be seen from the multiplicity of derivatives, all describing a violent or negative action. See Cowan (1994: 817) for examples.

324 *HSED*, 413, no. 1920.

whether it is used in this sense in our PN, and therefore evidence of the concept of El as a god who 'attacks' or 'strikes.'[325]

Hebrew *pgʿʾl* may be interpreted as 'El attacks', or 'El strikes down'.[326] Murtonen suggested we interpret the element *pgʿ*, as substantival with the first person suffix *-y* (assimilated), yielding 'My destiny is (with, determined by) God', appealing to the use of this noun in 1 Ki. 5:18 as evidence that destiny (*pgʿ*) 'was conceived as subject to God's will'.[327] Murtonen's observation that his interpretation of this noun 'is quite compatible with the verbal meaning "to meet, encounter"',[328] offers no help in determining the meaning of this anthroponym but, rather, supports his own interpretation of the element *pgʿ*. The use of the name in war-stories is, to my mind, the best clue to its correct translation.[329]

pgʿyʾl was the name of an early leader of Asher during the march through the wilderness of Sinai and Teman.[330] The use of this name in Hebrew suggests it might be a literary creation, but non-Israelite sources indicate otherwise. Verbally *pgʿ* is attested in MT 46 times,[331] with the basic sense 'to meet, encounter'.[332] Forty-two percent[333] of all occurrences of the verb in MT are in passages concerned with 'violent encounter' (by far the most common

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325 This image may be hinted at in KTU 1.2:iii:17-18 and KTU 1.6:vi:26-29.

326 Cf. Arab. *fajaʿa* 'pain, afflict'.

327 Murtonen (1986: 182, no. 1313).

328 Murtonen (1986: 182).

329 The verb *pgʿ* is used of hostile encounter in Nu. 35:19, 21.

330 The theophoric elements found in the 24 PNs comprising the leaders of the eleven tribes and their fathers (Joseph is represented by two sub-divisions, which give us twelve) may be listed as: *ʾl* (× 9); *šdy* (× 3); *ṣwr* 'rock' (× 3); *ʾb* 'father' (× 2); *ʾḫ* 'brother' (× 2); *ʿm* 'kinsman' (× 3).

331 The niphal *ʾpgʿ* (Isa. 47:3) may in fact be qal impf. 1st p. s.

332 For the semantic range of this verb cf. BDB, 830; NKB: 910; *TDOT*: 502-508.

333 16 out of a total 43 occurrences of √*pgʿ*.

use of this verb[334]),[335] particularly those killings sanctioned by the law of the blood-redeemer, *gʾl hdm*.[336] The noun *pgʿ*, occurs twice,[337] with the more abstract sense of 'occurrence, chance', yielding 'My destiny is (with/determined by) God'.[338] But there is a negative connotation to the word in these passages,[339] suggesting that this meaning is an unlikely candidate for a Hebrew theophoric personal name. We may, therefore, justifiably translate our name as 'El attacks,[340] strikes down', 'El is my avenger', or 'El is fearful',[341]

pz

The name *ʾlypz* occurs in Safaitic[342] and may also be evident at Ugarit in the hypocoristic form *pzy* (› *pḏ*).[343] Two individuals bearing this name are found in

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334 The numerical and semantic distribution of *pgʿ* in MT is approximately: qal 1: 'to meet someone/something' 9/43 (21%); qal 2/hiph. 1: 'to attack' 16/43 (42%); qal 3/hiph. 2: 'to entreat, intercede' 9/43 (21%); 'meeting of land boundaries' 7/43 (16%).

335 The distribution of these passages are: Ex. 5:3; Nu. 35:19, 21; Ju. 8:21; 15:12; 18:25; 1 Sam. 22:17, 18, 18; 2 Sam. 1:15; 1 Ki. 2:25, 29, 31, 32, 34, 46; Job 36:32; Ruth 2:22.

336 Qal × 36(7); Hiphil × 6; Niphal × 1. Nu. 35:16-21. Passages that may be related to this law: Ju. 8:21; 15:12; 18:25; 1 Sam. 22:17, 18, 18; 2 Sam. 1:15; 1 Ki. 2:25, 29, 31, 32, 34, 46.

337 1 Ki. 5:18 and Qoh. 9:11.

338 Murtonen (1986: 182, no. 1313), interpreted the element *pgʿ* as substantival with an assimilated first person suffix *-y*, yielding 'My destiny is (with/ determined by) God', appealing to the use of this noun in 1 Ki. 5:18 as evidence that destiny (*pgʿ*) 'was conceived as subject to God's will.'.

339 In 1 Ki. 5:18, *pgʿ* (qualified by adj. *rʿ*) is parallel with *śṭn*, 'adversary'. In Job 9:11, *pgʿ* is a euphemism for death, Gordis (1968: 307f.).

340 NKB: 910 √*pgʿ* qal 2 (BDB, 803, qal 3) 'encounter (with hostility), fall upon'. Cf. Arab. *faja'a* 'to make a sudden raid'; *fajaʿa* 'to inflict suffering'; *fajjaʿa* and *ʾăfjaʿa*, 'to torment, torture'.

341 Maiberger (*TDOT*, 507) 'El ist furchtbar'. NKB, 910 questions this interpretation for the Hebrew PN.

342 Müller (1963: 306), '*is nicht asa*'.

343 KTU 2.71:2. The *z* is problematic, but not impossible, given the common interchange of the consonants *z*, *ḏ* and *d*. This is particularly evident with the use of the demonstrative pronoun at Ugarit: *z*: twice, KTU 6.70[Sar 3102]:1, 2. *CPU*, 756, §. 1764, erroneously lists these occurrences as KTU 6.64:1, 2; *ḏ*: once, KTU 1.24:45; *d*: × 378. See also Macintosh (1971: 552). Note also the name *pdy*, (× 12: KTU 3.4:2, 12; KTU 4.15:3; KTU 4.46:12; KTU 4.86:7; KTU 4.98:23; KTU 4.112:iii:2; KTU 4.178:3; KTU 4.299:3; KTU

the Hebrew Bible, both of whom are Edomite. The first Eliphaz is listed in the genealogy of Edom as the firstborn son of Esau,[344] the second is the friend of Job from Teman, which is located in Edom.[345] Various suggestions for the meaning of this difficult name have been proposed, such as 'El/(my) God is (fine) gold';[346] 'El/God is agile';[347] 'El/God is the victor';[348] 'El/God is pure/shining'.[349] The first two suggestions were rejected by Hübner,[350] who preferred the third meaning. If Hübner was correct we may then have a name which agrees with the description of El found at Kuntillet Ajrud (see above). Weippert's suggestion that the name means 'El/God is pure/shining' (from **pūz*), may be also compared with the Kuntillet Ajrud inscription which uses the verb *zrḥ*, 'rise, shine forth' to describe El's theophany as the divine warrior.

Hübner and Weippert certainly offered etymologies that are attractive for this name, but a further possibility is Hurr. *paži-*, which Speiser thought, 'may be based on the verbal concept "to know"'.[351] This etymology yields the entirely appropriate meaning 'El is knowing (= wise)' both as a description of

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4.376:2; KTU 4.424:8; KTU 4.425:6), which could be a variant/popular form of *pzy*. However, this name is more than likely derived from √*pdy*, 'ransome', of which *pzy* may be a variant form.

344 Gen. 36:4, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16; 1 Chr. 1:35.

345 Job 2:11; 4:1; 15:1; 22:1; 42:7, 9.

346 Ug. * *pḏ*. BDB, 45, from the 'primary noun' *pz* I, '(fine gold), from which is derived the denominative verb *pzz*, NKB, 921. In Egypt, Ra is described with the following words: 'his bones are silver, his flesh gold (*ḫ'w=f m nbw*), his hair true lapis lazuli.' Destruction of Mankind, cf. Lichtheim (1997: 36).

347 Meyer (1906: 347), ‹ √*pzz* II, 'to be agile'.

348 This meaning, '*er seigt*', is given to the element *pz* in the Safaitic name *ʾlypz* listed by Müller (1963: 306). Fowler compares the Arab. cognate *fauz*, 'success, triumph, victory', Fowler (1988: 140).

349 Wieppert, *Edom*. Diss., Tübingen (1971: 246-7, 261, 451-6), cited by Hübner, *ABD* ii, 471.

350 *ABD* ii, 471.

351 Speiser (1941: 75). Note also (1941: 75, n. 19), 'For *paž-* cf. Nuzi *pa-šu-nu* = Akkad. *mûdû*, "expert"'. Gen. 36:2 records that Esau's wife 'Adah was the daughter of Elon the Hittite, so it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Hurr. *paž-* features in this name. See also Wyatt (1995b), for the suggestion that Bathsheba's name is non-Semitic.

El and as the name of the character in the biblical wisdom text, who imparts his knowledge of El, the Wise One, to Job.

If the element *ʾl* is appellative or, better, adjectival a further solution may be found in Eg. *pḏt*, 'bow' ('My god is the bow'/'divine bow'), denoting Qos[352] the Edomite god who is 'the deified bow of the weather god'.[353]

pḫr

In OSA (Qatab.), we find *ilfḫr*, 'El of the assembly'; 'El is glorious'; 'El is powerful'.[354] It is possible that *ḫ* here represents *ʿ* (*pʿr*), with the meaning 'El has pronounced my name'.

plṭ

The use of *plṭ*, 'protect', is perhaps best understood as being influenced by Akk. *balāṭu*, 'to live',[355] which in the D-stem, is used of gods either bringing or sustaining life.[356] Anat uses the verb *plṭ* (// *ʿḏr*) to describe Aqhat coming to El's aid at her threatened attack of him — obviously a reversal of what would be expected to occur.[357] No theophoric forms of this name are preserved in Ugaritic, only the hypocoristic forms *plṭ*[358] and *yplṭ*.[359] Three names formed with *ʾl* + *plṭ* occur in the Hebrew Bible, *plṭyʾl*,[360] *ʾlplṭ*[361] and *ʾlyplṭ*.[362] One

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352 Edom. **qś*, Heb. *qšt*, Arab. *qaus*, 'bow'.

353 Knauf, *DDD*, 676.

354 Oldenberg (1970: 190, n. 21).

355 Cf. *blṭšʾṣr* in Dan. 1:7; 2:26; 4:5f. etc., which derives from either *Balaṭ-šarri-uṣur*, 'protect the life of the king', or *Balaṭsu-uṣur*, 'protect his life'. See also the quadrilingual text Ug. 5, 137 (RS 20.123+):ii:20′: KAR = *šu-zu-bu* = *a-bu-uš-ku-me* = *pu-la-ṭu*.

356 *CDA*, 36. For the full semantic range, see *CAD* B, 52.

357 KTU 1.18:i:13.

358 KTU 4.374:7; KTU 4.727:18; KTU 4.222:[2].

359 KTU 4.214:iv:4; KTU 4.638:[2].

360 Nu. 34:26; 2 Sam. 3:15.

Yahwistic name with this verb, *plṭyhw*, is attested on a seal.[363] Ammonite attests only the hypocoristic forms *plṭ*,[364] *plṭy*,[365] both of which occur in BH also, and *plṭw*, also found in Aramaic.

pll

The name *ʾlypl* occurs once in BH.[366] and has been translated as 'God/El has judged',[367] 'God/El is my intercessor' or 'El has interceded for me',[368] with the further suggestion that a final *ṭ* may be lacking, yielding the PN *ʾlyplṭ*, 'God is deliverance/life'.[369]

ṣbʾ

Cross suggested the translation 'Army of El' for the name **ṣbʾʾl* (*ṣi-ba*-HAL [‹ AN]),[370] from the root *ṣbʾ*, but observed that the element *ṣi-ba* has also been interpreted as being from **ṣbw* 'desire'.[371] Alternatively the name may be translated as 'warrior of El'.[372]

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361 1 Chr. 14:5 = *ʾlyplṭ*? See BHS marg.

362 2 Sam. 5:16; 23:34 (= *ʾlypl*, 1 Chr. 11:35); Ezr. 8:13; 10:33; 1 Chr. 3:6, 8; 8:39; 14:7.

363 Lemaire, *Sem.* 29 (1979): 74, no. 5 Q, Fowler (1988: 357).

364 AS 26, Jackson (1983: 516); BH 1 Chr. 2:47. Coogan (1967: 33) noted the form *pa-la-ṭa-[a-a] from Murašu*, which is probably Aramaic.

365 AS 16, Jackson (1983: 516); BH, Nu. 13:9.

366 1 Chr. 11:35.

367 Noth (1928: 187f.).

368 BDB, 45, *pll*, 'intervene, arbitrate, judge'.

369 The parallel to 1 Chr. 11:35, 2 Sam. 23:34 describes *ʾlyplṭ* as the son of Ahasbai, while in 1 Chr. 11:35, *ʾlypl* is the son of Ur.

370 Cross (1967: 426).

371 Huffmon (1965: 256). Note BH *sybʾ* (2 Sam. 9:2-4; 9-12; 16:1-4; 19:18, 30).

372 Murtonen (1952), cited in Cross (1967: 426)

ṣl

Names formed with the noun *ṣl* (*ṣll*), 'shade, protection', describe El as a protective deity. Names of this type 'may be modeled after Akkadian names with *ṣill-*', given that we only have one example in Amorite,[373] none in Ugaritic. Phoenician may attest one name, *yrbṣl*, but Benz wondered if this was in fact a reference to the deity *Ṣalmu*.[374] Hebrew attests *bṣlʾl*, 'In the shadow of El',[375] as well as the shorter forms *bṣy* and *bṣl*.[376] Comparable is the description of deity in the Hebrew Bible of which four mention El, or feature an epithet associated with him,[377] may be influenced by Akk. *ṣillu* and *ṣulūlu*, both used as divine epithets.[378]

qmʿ

In Homer,[379] we find the name Ἰκμάλιος, which, it has been proposed, is from Ph. **yqmʿʾl*,[380] 'El has bound (me)'.[381] The use of a Phoenician name is appropriate in the light of the occupation of this named individual. He was the craftsman who made Penelope's bed, which was inlaid with ivory and silver, a particular specialization of Phoenician craftsmen, whose reputation Homer draws attention to.[382]

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373 Huffmon (1965: 257) notes only one such name, *Ṣil-lí-ba-aḫ-li*

374 CIS 1312, Benz (1972: 399).

375 Two individuals: Ex 31:2; 35:30; 36:1; 37:1; 38:22; 1 Chr. 2:20; 2 Chr. 1:5; and Ezr. 10:30.

376 *bṣy* (HB: Ezr. 2:17; Neh. 7:23; 10:19; EB: Seal V, 142); *bṣl* (EB: Inscr. *AI*, 49:1), Fowler (1988: 358).

377 Isa. 49:2; 51:16; Hos. 14:8; Ps. 17:8 (v. 6, *ʾl*); 36:8 (v. 7, *ʾl*); 57:2 (v. 3, *ʾl*); 63:8; 91:1 (*bṣl šdy*); 121:5.

378 *CDA*, 338 and

379 Hom. *Od.* 19.57.

380 Cf. Akk. *kamû*, 'to bind'.

381 Germain (1954: 445); West (1999: 430f. and 431, n. 52).

382 West (1999: 431). See also *Od.* 17.382-5, where Homer acknowledges that foreign craftsmen were hired for tasks such as this.

qny

The Ugaritic name *ilyqn*, 'My god/Ilu has created', is attested once only[383] and more than likely refers to El's role in childbirth. Other uses of *qny* in personal names, such as Phoenician *qn'l*, Hebrew *'lqnh*[384] and Assyrian *Ilu-qanā* and *Qanā-ilu*,[385] may well allude to the epithet *qn 'rṣ*, or the fuller, Hebrew form, *'l 'lywn qnh šmym w'rṣ*)

rm

Most commentators read *rwm*, 'to be high, exalted' in the personal name *'lrm* 'El exalts', 'Let El be exalted', or 'El is exalted'.[386] However, two roots may be suggested for this name which describe El's warrior nature: *rmh*, 'to cast, shoot, throw', and *rmm*, 'to bellow (like a bull)', as well as one which may point to his role in childbirth, Heb. *rmh* 'El loosens the womb'.[387] Ug. *rmy*, 'to shoot, throw',[388] may be present in the Ug. PN *rmy(y)*,[389] but damage to this line impedes any further judgement.[390] Segert[391] compared Ug. *rmy* with *ri-mi-*

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383 KTU 4.607:24. Watson (1990: 116). See also Huffmon (1965: 221), who lists the Ug. names *ya-ku-un*-AN (*PRU* iv, pl. xlii, 17.319, 20) and *yknil* (*PRU* ii, no. 116.12; *UM*, no. 314.15).

384 BH: Ex. 6:24; 1 Sam. 1:1, 4, 8, 19, 21, 23; 2:11, 20; 1 Chr. 6:8, 10, 11, 12, 19, 20, 21; 9:16; 12:6; 15:23; 2 Chr. 28:7. Fowler (1988: 359).

385 De Moor (1980: 176).

386 See, for example, Huffmon (1965: 25, 261), Gröndahl (1967: 95, 182), Benz (1972: 98), Jackson (1983: 510, no. 22).

387 This meaning is very attractive, given the role accorded to El in the Ugaritic texts, and to the 'god of the fathers' in the patriarchal traditions of the Hebrew Bible, in connection with childless couples. In this respect, the name *'brm* is attractive.

388 Leslau (1987: 472).

389 KTU 4.623:2.

390 Text (KTU 4.623:2): *bn rmyy*[...]. The second *y* may be the first consnant of a following word. Damage to tablet makes judgement difficult, but this appears to be the best solution to interpreting the remaining line.

391 Segert (1984: 201).

ya[392] and *re-mi-ya*,[393] and Gibson noted that the Ug. √*rmy* occurs in the Š-stem with the meaning 'throw down'.[394]

Hebrew √*rmh* I,[395] 'to cast, shoot, throw', is attested in BH four times only.[396] Twice in the archaic 'Song of the Sea',[397] the verb is used to commemorate Yahweh's throwing of the (Egyptian) horse and rider into the sea. In Psalm 78, which is believed to date to the tenth or ninth century BCE,[398] the participle (pl. cnstr.) describes Ephraimite bowmen (*rwmy-qšt*, 'shooters of arrows'). Jer. 4:29, the remaining passage, describes the response of the city to the sound of an approaching enemy, described as 'horseman and bowman' (*prš wrmh qšt*),[399] as one of flight.

There may also be an allusion to this root in Ju. 15:17, an aetiological explanation of the toponym *rmt lḥy*, the place where Samson threw away the jawbone he used to kill one thousand Philistines.[400] The verb used to describe the act of throwing (*šlk myd*), suggests there was an 'unphilological *rmh*. Further, *rmt* appears to be derived from √*rwm*, 'to raise', which would render our TN as 'Jawbone Heights'.[401] The personal name DINGIR-*ra-mu*, which

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392 RS, *Syria* 28, 49: rev. 4.

393 *Ug.* V, 88:11'.

394 Gibson (1978: 158). The passage Gibson cites (17 vi 15 [= KTU 1.17:vi:15]), does not appear to contain this verb.

395 BDB, 941. Aram. *rm*'.

396 Qimron (1986: 117) is surely mistaken when he states that *rmh* is only attested in the vocabulary of Qumran (× 3: 1QS 7:6 [× 2, both Hithpael = 'to commit a fraud']; 1QH 7:17, 'throw'), and not in Hebrew or Aramaic (sources). However, the biblical citations above show this is clearly not the case. In Aramaic, the corresponding √*rm*', 'to throw', occurs eleven times in the Aramaic sections of Daniel. The other occurrence of √*rm*' is Ezra 7:24, where the infin. means 'to impose (tribute)'.

397 Ex. 15:1, 21.

398 Freedman (1987).

399 BHS appar. suggests *wrmy*, as does BDB, 941.

400 Ju. 15:14-17.

401 NJPS, Ju. 15:17, n. e. offers this translation.

occurs in a syllabic text from Ugarit, would allow the translation 'El bellows (like a bull)',[402]

rpʾ

The concept of El as either 'healer', 'hero' or 'saviour',[403] occurs in the Ugaritic names *ilrpi*[404] and *rpil*.[405] Huffmon noted an Amorite form, i *-lí-ra-pi*,[406] In Hebrew, the personal name *rpʾl*, 'El is a healer, or hero'. occurs once,[407] although the LXX suggests that the variants Ραφαλ and Ραφελ, for the name *rpyh*,[408] most likely preserve the original form. The form *yrpʾl* 'Let El heal', 'El heals' or 'El has healed', also occurs.[409] Ammonite only preserves the hypocoristic form *rpʾ*.[410] while *yrpʾl*, occurson an Aramaic seal dated to the end of the ninth century BCE.[411] The biblical phrase *ʾl nʾ rpʾ nʾ*,[412] attests to the use of such a formation as a request of the divinity.

šgb

The Ammonite PN *ʾlšgb*,[413] 'El is exalted', is a very rare occasion when the root *šgb* occurs as an element in a personal name. The verb occurs

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402 PRU 6, 30:20; *Ug.* V. 58:1; 65:1.

403 Wyatt (1996: 352) offered 'Hero' as a translation of Ug. *rpu* (as well as 'Healer', 'Saviour', and made comparison with Greek hero cult (*ibid* n. 229).

404 KTU 4.347:7.

405 KTU 4.194:12 (*k/rpil*); KTU 4.102:[24] (*rpi*[).

406 Huffmon (1965: 264).

407 1 Chr. 26:7.

408 1 Chr. 3:21.

409 Josh. 18:27.

410 Jackson (1983: 516).

411 Bordreuil (1993: 93, 94, no. 33).

412 Nu. 12:13.

413 AS 51, Jackson (1983: 80).

occasionally in biblical Hebrew[414] and is attested in inscriptional Aramaic.[415] Akkadian *sagbû*, 'first, foremost',[416] may be related, as has been suggested.[417] The root has not been found in Ugaritic, but if the suggestion of Wächter is correct, then the Ugaritic cognate is to be found in the root *gbb/h*, of which *śgb* is understood to be a Šafʿel formation.[418] In Hebrew, a shortened form of the name (*śgwb*) is attested,[419] while it has been noticed that there is also a similarly shortened form, *Sagib-Ilu* › *Sagab*, attested at Asshur.[420]

This root may well be an Ammonite equivalent of the Hebrew phrase *ʾl ʿlywn*, particularly given that the Heb. cognate *śgb* (niphal), 'to be (inaccessably) high',[421] occurs in the phrase *ky-nśgb šmw lbdw hwdw ʿl-ʾrṣ wšmym*, rather literally translated, 'for he has exalted his name, alone in splendour, over the earth and the heavens'.[422]

šdy

This epithet has been discussed in chapter five, so only the names featuring this epithet will be noted from Egyptian,[423] Amorite,[424] Ugaritic,[425] Phoenio-Punic,[426] Hebrew,[427] Aramaic[428] and Thamudic[429] sources.

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[414] *śgb* (× 19): Deut. 2:36; Ps. 20:2; 59:2; 69:30; 91:14; 107:41; 139:6; 148:13; Job 5:11 ; 36:22; Prov. 8:11; 18:10; Isa. 2:11, 17; 9:10.

[415] KAI 224:13-14.

[416] *CDA*, 310.

[417] Anbar (1974: 439-41).

[418] Wächter (1971: 388).

[419] 1 Ki. 16:34 (*śgyb*); 1 Chr. 2:21.

[420] NKB, 1306.

[421] Fowler (1988: 361).

[422] Ps. 148:13. Cf. Isa. 12:4.

[423] *śa-di-ʿ-m-y*, *Šadayʿamî, 'Shaddai is my paternal relative', Albright (1957: 243).

[424] *śa-di-*^{d}IM, 'Baal is Shaddai'; *śa-du-ul-la-mar-ṣú-*[u]*m*, "Shaddai is angry'(?); *śa-du-um-la-bu-a*, 'Shaddai is the lion', Huffmon (1965: 267).

[425] *ṯdn* (KTU 4.377:29; KTU 4.290:13; KTU 7.93?), cf. Gröndahl (1967: 258); *ṯdny* (KTU

šwb

Evidence of the use of *šwb*, extends from Amorite to Ammonite names, showing the popularity of the form — most likely an exhortation that El may answer with a blessing, '(let) El answer'. The Ugaritic personal name *ʃbil*,[430] may be derived from either *ytb*, 'to sit, dwell', or *ʃwb*, 'turn, return, answer'. The first option is an attractive possibility, in that if the name should be translated 'El dwells' or, perhaps better, 'El sits (i.e. enthroned)', then one might have here another reference to El as the deity one turned to, with the image evoked in the verb *tb* that of El as the bridegroom undergoing pre-marital circumcision (see my discussion at *mt w šr* in chapter three above) The second, however, is confirmed by the syllabically written form, *ia-šu-ub-*DINGIR, which appears to be an Amorite form.[431] Gröndahl's suggestion that the Ug. PN *ʃbil* was a form of Akk. *ša-pi-Bēl*, with the *p* and *b* coalescing is difficult (*ʃbil* › **ʃpbʿl* › *ʃbʿl* › *ʃbil*), as well as unecessary.[432] Rainey provided evidence to support the view that Ug. *ʃb* in personal names means 'return'

3.10:20; KTU 4.791:16; KTU 7.9:3?), cf. Gröndahl (1967: 257f.); *ʃdnyn* (KTU 4.225:10; KTU 4.611:29), cf. Gröndahl (1967: 258); *ʃdpṯn* (KTU 4.114:4; KTU 4.631:21), cf. Gröndahl (1967: 205, 212, 251, 258); *ʃdṯb* (KTU 4.93:ii:12), cf. Gröndahl (1967: 264); *ʃdy* (KTU 4.116:18; KTU 4.650:3?) syllabic *ši*-DI-*ia* (PRU 6, 78:4, 16), Gröndahl (1967: 257); Huehnergard (1987: 231, n. 92); *ʃdyn* (KTU 4.643:12; KTU 4.649:4; KTU 4.650:3, 4?), cf. Gröndahl (1967: 257).

426 *ʿbdšdʾ* (*CIS* 4556.3; 5098.4/5; EI-H 37.3; 88.3)[426] and *ʿbdʾšdʾ* (*CIS* 4555.3/4). Benz (1972: 414) also notes *ʿbdšbʾ* (1972: 163 [*CIS* 355.2]) and *ʿbdšrʾ* (1972: 425 [*CIS* 696]) as possible examples of *šdʾ* names.

427 *ʿmyšdy* (Nu. 1:12; 2:25; 7:66, 71); *ṣwryšdy* (Nu. 1:6; 2:12; 7:36, 41; 10:19); *šdyʾwr* (Nu. 1:5; 2:10; 7:30, 35; 10:18).

428 Lipiński (2000: 554 and n. 276) noted the female PN *šdyt*, which he decided meant 'fecund, prolific', 'despite the spelling ᶠKUR-*i-tu*'. See also Lipiński (1995: 247-59).

429 Knauf (1999: 752).

430 KTU 1.92:1; KTU 4.12:6; KTU 4.229:5; KTU 313:2; KTU 4.322:11.

431 PRU 6, 39:8. The root *šwb* does not appear in Akkadian. Cf. Huffmon (1965: 266), who cites Amorite **šwb*, discussed below.

432 Gröndahl (1967: 47).

(*Ṯābī-El, 'El/God has returned to me').[433] He pointed to the evidence from cuneiform syllabic texts from Ugarit ([1]*ša-bi-ili*[DINGIR-*li*][434] and [1]*ša-bi-ili*[DINGIR][435]),[436] Ṣumur ([1]*ša-bi-ili*[DINGIR])[437] and the 'almost irrefutable support' from the WS TN written in hieroglyphs (*śa-*⌜*bi*⌝*-*ʾ*i-il*),[438] with Eg. *ś* pointing unmistakably to West Semitic *ṯ* and the determinative of the name, the backward walking legs (Gardiner sign D55) indicating the meaning 'return'.[439] Huffmon provided Amorite examples, such as *Ya-šu-ub*-AN, *A-šu-ub-la*-AN, and the imperative form *šu-ub-na*-AN, 'Turn/Return/Answer! O El'.[440]

In the Hebrew Bible, the PN *šbʾl*, 'El has turned, returned, answered', is attested only in *Chronicles*,[441] and shows evidence of confusion, appearing also as *šbwʾl* and *šwbʾl*, all referring to the same person.[442] The name *ʾlyšb* is a rather popular name in extra-biblical Hebrew, occurring some 28 times, although all the occurrences from Arad during the late seventh/early sixth centuries BCE. may refer to one individual.[443]

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433 Rainey (1971: 164). See also Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín (1973: 116): *Ša-bi*-DINGIR[lim]

434 RS 17.341:20′, 32′; *PRU* iv, p. 163.

435 RS 11.787:7; *PRU* iii, p. 194.

436 Rainey (1971: 164) and commented that Gröndahl's interpretation of *ṯbil* as being 'comparable to Mesopotamian *ša-pi-Bēl* is hardly tenable'.

437 EA 62:26.

438 Pap. Anast. i, 27, 5.

439 Rainey (1971: 164).

440 Huffmon (1965: 266).

441 1 Chr. 24:20; 25:20.

442 *šbʾl*, 1 Chr. 26:24 (with **šbwʾl* suggested by both the LXX and the Vulgate versions); *šbwʾl*, 1 Chr. 23:16 (LXX: Σουβαηλ); *šwbʾl*, 1 Chr. 24:20 (× 2) — all of which refer to one person. Another individual's name has similarly been confused: *šbwʾl* (1 Chr. 25:4) = *šwbʾl* (1 Chr. 15:20).

443 Lachish Ostr. (beneath solar shrine, 7/6 cent. BCE), *AHI*, 1.022: Arad. Ostr. 47, 64 (2nd half 8 cent. BCE), *AHI*, 2.047, 64; Arad. Ostr. 38 (7 cent. BCE), *AHI*, 2.038; Arad Ostr. 1-12, 14-18, 24 (7/6 cent. BCE), *AHI*, 2.001-12, 14-18, 24; two seals from Arad, *AHI*, 100.231, 282; an undated ostracon from Horvat Uza, *AHI*, 37.02; and three seals of unknown provenance, *AHI*, 100.375 (8/7 cent. BCE), *AHI*, 100.872 and 100.879 (both

šlm

The use of this noun in personal names most likely declares, as we find in the greeting on the correspondence tablets that 'well-being, good health', is from El,[444] although 'peace' may also be meant. It is possible that *šlm* is theophoric, designating the god Shalem, as we find in Phoenician,[445] or perhaps the god Shulman,[446] although at Ugarit, formations such as *bʿlšlm* and *ṣdqšlm*, suggest that Ug. *ilšlm* has the DN El as its theophoric element, with a description of something the deity does for the name-bearer. Names formed with *ʾl* + *šlm* are found in Amorite, *I-la-sa-lim*,[447] Ugaritic, *ilšlm*,[448] and Hebrew, *šlmyʾl*.[449]

šmr

Note the personal name *ḏmrʾl* 'El is strong',[450] 'El protects, guards',[451] 'El is a warrior'.[452] The root (*ḏmr*), or its phonetic variants (*dmr/zmr/smr/šmr*),[453] is a relatively common element in PNs. No El-type personal names containing *ḏmr* have been preserved in Ugaritic beyond the vague possible variant PN *iltmr*,[454] written syllabically as *ilḏtmr*.[455] Another fourteen personal names

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7/6 cent.).

444 See for example, KTU 2.1:1; KTU 2.4:4; KTU 2.6:4-5, although in the correspondence greetings it is always 'health from the gods (*ilm*)' that is invoked, rather than from El as we find in the PN.

445 Ph. *šlmlḥy*, *btšlm* and *yknšlm*, Benz (1972: 418).

446 This god, it has been noted, has been identified with Eshmun — a healer god — in the compound name Šulman-Ešmûn, Huffmon (1965: 247).

447 Huffmon (1965: 247), who noted an example (*I-la-sa-lim*) from Chagar Bazar.

448 KTU 3.8:19; KTU 4.382:27. There are also examples of the name name written syllabically: DINGIR.*ša-li-ma*, PRU 3, 53 (RS 15.89): 6; DINGIR.*ša-lim*, PRU 3, 161 (RS 16.281): 6; DINGIR.*šal-ma*, PRU 6, 57:6′; PRU 6, 49:9′.

449 Nu. 1:6; 2:12; 7:36, 41; 10:19.

450 *NKB*: 274, *mrh*, 'strength' (√*zmr* III), Cross (1967: 426).

451 See *DLU*, 140, *ḏmr* I, 'to protect, guard'. NKB, 274, **zmr* III (Amor. *zmr*, 'to protect').

452 *UTGl*, 727 'soldier', NKB, 274, *zmr* III.

453 As illustrated by Amor. *ḏmr* › *dlz/smr*, and OSA *ḏmr*.

454 KTU 4.103:11.

formed with *ḏmr* (most likely Baal-type names), are found in the administrative tablets.[456]

In the epic of *Aqhat*, the verb *ḏmr*, 'to protect', is used to describe one of the duties of the ideal/pious son for the deceased father, in order that his spirit reaches the underworld: *l ʿpr ḏmr aṯrh* 'into the dust protecting his progress' (and parallels).[457] KTU 1.3 describes the goddess Anat wading knee-deep in the blood of soldiers (*ḏmr*), which occurs as a word-pair with *mhr* ('warrior'), wiping clean her temple of blood, and washing the blood of soldiers from her hands.[458]

Huffmon pointed to OSA *ṯmr*, 'bear fruit', as a possible explanation for Amor. √*šmr*. Such a predicate would suit El admirably, but the evidence for this word in a personal name bearing the divine name El is lacking.[459]

šʿy/h

The Ammonite name, *ʾlyšʿ*, is generally interpreted as deriving from *yšʿ*, 'to save, deliver',[460] but the *yod* may be *hireq compaginis*, the first person singular possessive suffix, or the third person singular prefix conjugation of √*šʿy/h*, 'to look upon with favour' (see discussion on *yšʿ* above) or, perhaps, a jussive, 'Let El look upon (me/him) with favour'.

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455 *DLU*: 140, *ḏmr* 1.

456 *ḏmrbʿl* (× 3: KTU 4.75:ii:5; 4.261:8; 4.731:1); *ḏmrd* ‹ **ḏmrhd* (∞ 2: KTU 4.682:10; 4.775:3); *ḏmr* (∞ 2: KTU 4.348:17; 4.647:1); *ḏmry* ‹ **ḏmrybʿl* (∞ 6: KTU 4.347:3, 5, 9; 4.617:31; 4.655:7; 6.46:1) and *ḏmrn* ‹ **ḏmrnbʿl* (KTU 4.423).

457 KTU 1.17:i:28, and //s ii:46; ii:2, and 17. Perhaps the son takes on a role akin to that of Reshep as the gate-porter of Shapsh the psychopomp.

458 KTU 1.3:ii:14, 28; + // KTU 1.7:[10]; KTU 1.3:ii:31 and KTU 1.3:ii:34 respectively.

459 Huffmon (1965: 267).

460 Jackson (1983: 510).

špṭ

Rarely attested, El-names formed with *špṭ*, are attested in Amorite, *Ša-pa-ṭá-*AN, 'El has judged'[461] and Hebrew *ʾlyšpṭ*.[462] This name may reflect the situation we find in *Keret* and *Aqhat*, where El presumably judges the cases of both Keret and Danel's childlessness before acting.

tmk

The use of *tmk*,[463] 'to hold, support', in personal names is found in Phoenician[464] and Ammonite, where all occurrences feature the DN *ʾl*. Ammonite attests the names *ʾltmk*, *tmkʾl* and the shortened form *tmkʾ*.[465]

In the Hebrew Bible, the concept of royal selection is also present with *tmk*, as is found in *Genesis*, where Israel blesses Ephraim, the second born, son of Joseph, instead of Manasseh.[466] The blessing involved the placing of the right hand upon the head of the chosen one. Joseph attempts to take his father's hand (*ytmk yd-abiw*) to move it to Manasseh's head, but his father refuses and gives his blessing to Ephraim. Similarly the verb *tmk* is used to describe the deity's support of the king,[467] which is liturgicized as a statement of royal faith in the deity's patronage (*tmkt by*)[468] and more forcibly in Ps. 63:9 (*by tmkh ymynk*), which mentions the right hand, the indicator of choice. The kings of Beth-eden and Ashkelon are both described in *Amos*,[469] as 'the one

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461 Huffmon (1965: 268).

462 2 Chr. 23:1.

463 Cf. Akk. *tamāḫui(m)*, which is written once as *tamāku*, *AHw* 1312f.

464 Benz (1972: 186, 429); Tomback (1978: 342).

465 *ʾltmk*: *CAI*, 47:14; 62:1; *tmkʾl*:*CAI*, 1:1; 3:1[2]; 14:1; 26:3; 76:3:1; 84; 86:1; 113:1; 132:3; *tmkʾ*: *CAI*, 85:3.

466 Gen. 48:17.

467 Isa. 42:1.

468 Ps. 41:13.

469 Amos 1:5, 8.

who holds the sceptre' (*twmk šbṭ m*-TN).[470] In Prov. 3:18, Wisdom is described as 'a tree of life to those who grasp her, and those who hold (*tmk*) her are happy'. Here we should compare the famous image of Isis as a tree breastfeeding the pharaoh as well as that of Athirat who breastfeeds the sons of Keret.[471]

In the Kilamuwa inscription,[472] the phrase *tmkt lyd*, 'I held by the hand', is very reminiscent of one the descriptions of one of the 'duties of the pious son' in *Aqhat*,[473] although the verb used in the Ugaritic text is *aḫd* (// *mʿms*) and the situation describes the actions of a king rather than a dutiful son. In Ps 63:9, it is the *yd* of the deity that provides 'help, assistance or support', in situations comparable with the Ugaritic text quoted above.

Although we have discussed but a few of the many names formed with the DN *ʾl*, it is quite clear that although much of the vocabulary used differs from that found in the epithets attributed to El, the characterization of El is remarkably similar. There is no reason to doubt that some personal names derive from traditional characterizations and expectations of El such as those found in the mythic corpus.

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[470] Cf. Akk. *tāmek ḫaṭṭi*, *Ahw* 1312b. See also Ex. 17:12. As long as Moses' hands are held upwards, Israel prevails in the battle against the Amalekites. Moses gets tired, however, so Aaron and Hur 'support' (*tmk*) the hands of Moses as he sits upon a stone. The subsequent victory is ascribed to the deity. Moses, in this episode, clearly represents the king appealing to the deity for support in battle. Perhaps the absence of any stick or sceptre is an attempt to play down this image.

[471] KTU 1.15:ii:26-27. This image may also be preserved on one of the ivory panels discovered in the royal palace.

[472] KAI 24:13.

[473] KTU 1.17:i:30 +//s.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Conclusions

All of the different 'traditions' that have preserved characterizations of El by means of epithets and titles show a surprising uniformity and consistency in the general description of El as a father, a god who is concerned with childbirth, a king, head of the divine council and also as a wise god. Some traditions even preserved evidence of El as the divine warrior. There is also evidence in some of the traditions that even although they used the same characteristic to describe El, the choice of a different word to highlight such different nuances shows that even in such seeming continuity change and difference were ever present. A good example is the choice of Ug. *ḥkm* to describe El in KTU 1.3:v:30, over and against the use of *lṭpn il d pid*, 'the Percipient El who is clever'. Both clearly refer to El's wisdom, but clearly mean more than just the simple statement that 'El is clever'. For example, I tried to show in my discussion of Kronos that his Greek epithet ἀγκύλομητης, commonly translated 'Crooked schemer', may be compared with Ugaritic *lṭpn il d pid*, and in so doing, perhaps suggest that such a long-winded title may even describe El's wisdom as something that could be a somewhat less than rewarding experience and (was?) used as a weapon against the other gods. Interestingly, the epithets that occur in only one tradition (see here the Hebrew Bible especially) still use these 'new epithets' to describe the same functions performed by El, even if they are literary inventions. The conclusion that may be immediately drawn from each chapter is that, the characterization of El by means of epithets and titles, as well as descriptions of El in personal names,

has a general consistency that shows that from the early Second Millenniuim BCE until the Roman period, the knowledge of this god (as evinced by the sources described) confirms an active cult throughout all these periods — and not all at the same place or same time —that is at odds with the view that the cult of El was replaced towards the end of the Bronze Age by the cult of Baal. Perhaps a better explanation would say that while Baal was becoming popular, El remained popular also. Perhaps it was his role in childbirth that was key to this, for it is attested in almost every tradition we have looked at. The connection between childbirth and wisdom (suggested by the root *ktr*) is interesting, given the traditions preserved by Philo of Byblos concerning Kronos' relationship with his offspring, with one story being an aetiology of child-sacrifice. We have also discovered new ways to understand this god, with the earlier suggestion that he was connected with the threshing floor in some cultic manner, perhaps child or human sacrifice, as well as observing that Philo of Byblos' El/Kronos was remarkably consistent with earlier descriptions, particularly those from Ugarit, a city known for its trading relations with Cyprus and the Aegean, probably the route most mythical and religious ideas took during the Late Bronze Age.

The following synthesis of the epithets studied in this dissertaion hopefully highlights this view. The epithets that appear in different traditions have been highlighted, while a synoptic chart of the epithets follows.

Epithets of El

Ugaritic:' ***ab*** (+ ab adm, ab bn il, ab šnm); ***adn*** (+adn ilm rbm, **adn bn ilm*) 'father, lord'; *mlk*, 'king'; ****k w n***, 'creator'?; ***ġzr***, 'warrior'; *šr*, 'king/husband/beloved'; *ṯr*, 'bull'; *bny bnwt*, 'builder of built things'; *bʿl gml*, 'lord of completion/Gamlu (TN?)'; *dr*, eternal?'; *hll* = Ellil; *ḫrš*,

'craftsman'; *ltpn il d pid*, Latipān (PN of El) or 'percipient El who is clever'; *ḥtk*, 'progenitor'; *qdš*, 'holy'; *mt w šr* 'husband and beloved'; ***qny***, 'creator'. Epithets preserved in the Hurrian of Ugarit: ***il il i̯dn***, 'El, creator of the earth?' (cf. ****kwn***); *il ḫl ḫurn* = *ḫrš*(?); *il kmrb*, 'El, the one of Kumar (i.e. 'the Kumarite') *il pbnḫwn ḫmn*, 'El of the mountain Ḫamanu'

Hebrew (HB and EB): ***ʾb***, 'father'; **dn*(?), 'judge'; *ʿlywn*, 'most high'; ***qn ʾrṣ***, 'creator/owner of the earth' ***rbh***, 'great'; ***šdy***, 'of the mountain?'.

Phoenician (including Philo of Byblos): ***ʾdn***, 'Lord'; *bʿl ʾdr*, 'great/mighty lord'; *bʿl ḥmn* 'lord of the incense-altar/Mount Ammanus'; ***qn ʾrṣ***, 'creator/owner of the earth'; Κρόνος, 'the one of the threshing floor(?)' **ἀγκυλομήτης**, 'Deviously clever(? cf. *ltpn* and *d pid*) Kronos'; βασιλήος, 'king'; **μεγάς**, 'great'; Βωλαθή (= *bʿlʾth*), 'Lord/husband of Anat'; **ἡγεμών**, 'leader (king?)'.

Syria (Arslan Tash, Ahiqar[2] and Homs): ****ʾb***, 'father'; ***ʾdwn ʾlwhyn***, 'lord of the gods'

Ammonite: ***mlkm***, 'king'?

Deir ʿAlla: ****šdy***, 'of the mountain?'

Kuntillet ʿAjrud: ****gzr***, 'warrior' (inferred).

As the above lists show, there is evidence for continuity in the characterization of El throughout the various West Semitic traditions attesting to the popularity of this god in both the Bronze and Iron Ages.

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1 The Hurrian forms are, given our current knowledge of this language, provisional.

2 Accepting the view that Ahiqar originated in Syria (see Chapter eight).

Synoptic Chart of the Epithets of El

Key: **U** = Ugaritic ; **H** = Hebrew (BH + EH) ; **P** = Phoenician (incl. Philo of Byblos); **S** = Syria (Arslan Tash, Ahiqar and Homs); **A** = Ammonite; **D** = Deir ʿAlla; **K** = Kuntillet ʿAjrud.

U	H	P	S	A	D	K
ab 'father'	*ʾb*		**ʾb*			
ad 'father'						
adn 'father, lord'		*ʾdn*	*ʾdwn ʾlwhyn* 'lord of the gods'			
bny bnwt 'builder of built things'						
		bʿl ʾdr 'great/mighty lord'				
bʿl gml 'lord of completion/Gamlu (TN?)'						
		bʿl ḥmn 'lord of the incense-altar or Mount Ammanus'				
		Βωλαθή (= *bʿlʾth*) 'Lord/husband of Anat'				
						**gzr* 'warrior' (cf. Ug. *ǵzr*)
	**dn*(?) 'judge'					
dr eternal?'						
hll = Ellil						
ḥrš 'craftsman'						

ḥtk 'progenitor'						
U	**H**	**P**	**S**	**A**	**D**	**K**
ḫl ḫurn = ḥršš(?)						
**kwn* 'creator'? cf. *qny*						
kmrb 'the one of Kumar'						
		Κρόνος 'the one of the threshing floor(?)'				
ltpn Latipän (PN of El) or 'percipient'		ἀγκυλομήτης (?)				
mlk 'king'		βασιλήος and ἡγεμών		*mlkm* 'king'?		
mt w šr 'husband and beloved'						
	ʿlywn 'most high'					
ġzr 'warrior'						
d pid '(El) who is clever'						
pbnḫwn ḫmn 'the one of the mountain Ḫamanu'						
qdš 'holy'						
qny 'creator'						
U(Hurr.) *il iḏn* 'creator of the earth?' (cf. **kwn* and *qny*)	*qn ʾrṣ* 'creator/owner of the earth'	*qn ʾrṣ*				
	rbḥ 'great'	μεγάς				
	šḏy 'of the mountain?'				**šḏy*	
šr 'king/husband/beloved'						
ṯr 'bull'						

Some Concluding Observations on the Word *ʾl*

The word *ʾl* (PN and appellative), occurs in all the Semitic languages with the exception of Ethiopic, which employs 'the apparently new plur. mai. *ʾamlak*, unattested in other Semitic languages.'[3] Here, I will note some observations useful for my study of epithets attributed to El.

Cross noted that in Akkadian personal names using the theophoric element *il-* that, 'the pattern *DN-i_3-lum* does not occur, but kinship names (*Abu-ilum*, *Aḫu-ilum*, etc.) and like patterns (*Ilum-bāni*, "God/El is my creator," Ilum-qurād, "God/El is a warrior") are frequent and give the same picture of the god as patron, creator "god of the father," and warrior that we find in unambiguous names. One finds also names like *I-lī-DINGIR-lum*/ *Ilī-ilum*, "my god is Il(um)." Gelb has gone so far as to say, "we may note the very common use of the element *Il* in Akkadian theophorus names, which seems to indicate that the god *Il* (later Semitic El) was the chief divinity of the Mesopotamian Semites in the Pre-Sargonic Period."'[4] The personal god of Sargon was ^{d}A.MAL (*Il-a-ba_4*), one of the major gods of Nippur who was identified as the war god of the city of Akkad during the Old Akkadian period.[5]

Infrequently we find *elu*, which belongs to the Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian periods. Worthy of comparison are the personal names *E-lu*-DA, *E-lu-ba-ni*, *E-lu-da-an*.[6] Simple *il* 'appears often in Old Akkadian in the earliest sources without the case ending (exclusive of the predicate state),

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3 According to Greek inscriptions it may have been pronounced *ʾallahî*. See Murtonen (1952: 24).

4 Cross (*TDOT* i: 243).

5 Kang (1989: 34).

unambiguously the divine name and not an apellative.'[7] Apparently *ili* is apellative with ambiguity over whether it should understood as definite, or indefinite in form: 'a god', 'the god'. 'It appears with certainty only in the names *I-din-i_3-li_2-šu, I-li-šu-DA-a, I_3-li_2-a-wi-lim- ra-bi, -GAL.' Ilum* belongs to the Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian periods.[8] This represents Ug. *il*, as the pantheon lists demonstrate.[9] Both of the last two terms (*ilu, ilum*) are ambiguous as to whether they are PNs or apellatives, as are the 'forms written logographically with DINGIR, but many are no doubt the divine name'.[10]

It would appear that a Proto-Semitic provenance is likely for both the personal name and the general appellative *il*, given the widespread attestation of both uses in East, Northwest and South Semitic languages and dialects from the earliest times available.[11]

In Hurrian, we find the following equivalents: *eni*, appellative 'God';[12] *e-e-en-na-šu-uš*;[13] *e-ne*;[14] *kuma/urb/we/i*;[15] *ku-ma-ar-wə*;[16] ^{d}*ku-mu-ur-wə*;[17] *kmrb-n-š*;[18] *kmrb* (= ^{d}*Kumarbi*). In a Hurro-Ugaritic hymn, El is identified by what

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6 Murtonen (1952: 24).

7 Cross, *TDOT* i, 243.

8 Murtonen (1952: 24).

9 Table adopted from Wyatt (1998: 360-1):

KTU 1.47:3	KTU 1.118:2	RS 20.24:2
il	*il*	*ilum*^{lum}

10 Cross, *TDOT* i, 243.

11 Cross (*TDOT* i, 244).

12 Speiser (1941: 17).

13 Mit. i:78, ii:52, iv:117. Cf. the derivative form *i-ni-pa-a-i*; Mit. xxix:8; iii:39 and *e-ne-*[*pa-*]*a-i*; xxvii:42, rev.:21, Speiser (1941: 20).

14 Gloss *ilu*, CT xxv 18:ii:11.

15 KBo. v 2:ii:60; xxvii 38:iv:21. Speiser (1941: 39). Speiser noted the possibility (1941: 43, n.96), that the ending *wə* of *'Kumarve* is itself a genitive, the form (*Kumarwə*) signifying "(he) of Kumar'".

16 Mari, Speiser (1941: 39).

17 Nuzi, Speiser (1941: 39).

18 KTU 1.42:8, *kmrbnt*. Speiser (1941: 108): 'after consonants the connective vowel is *-u-*'.

may be a binomial, *il kmrb*,[19] Dijkstra noted that KTU 1.128 'confirms also the equation [^{d}*en-líl*] = *Ku*-mar-we* = *ilum* (DINGIR)^{lum} in the trilingual An = Anum series.[20] Also worth noting is the possible Hurrian equivalent of NWS *ʾl qn ʾrṣ*:

KTU 1.28:1-2

il il iḏn	O El, creator[ʔ] of the earth,
il ḫl ḫurn	O El, overseer of the heaven.[21]

Cross observed that the 18th cent. BCE Amorite onomasticon features many personal names using the element *il*. He observed that the name is 'occasionally ... spelled *ila*' (normalized as *ʾilāh*), but prefers to see in the final consonant the Amoritic and Old Akkadian predicate state marker *-a*. He also discussed two types of name formed with the theophoric element *el*, 'those compounded with *sumu* "the name,"[22]' and those using a kinship word with the element *il*.[23]

The form *ila* occurs in 'the so-called Amoritic names'.[24] Murtonen wondered whether this form is a variant form of *ʾilum/ʾelum*, 'or the name of an independent deity'. He noted the tendency in West Semitic to leave the final *-h* unexpressed, as illustrated by the forms *'Ḫa-za-qi-ia-u, Ia-u-ḫa-zi*, etc.'.[25]

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19 KTU 1.42:6-8. Note also KTU 1.128:14-16, Dijkstra (1993: 158).

20 Dijkstra (1993: 158).

21 Vocalisation and translation of both lines, Dijkstra (1993: 158f.).

22 Cross (*TDOT* i, 243), including *'sumuhu*, "his name", *sumuna*, "our name", plus a divine name or epithet. The element *sum-* refers to the name of the god of the family or clan (that is, the personal god) on whom he can call or by whom he swears'.

23 Cross (*TDOT* i, 243).

24 Murtonen (1952: 24f.).

25 Murtonen (1952: 25, n.1). He thought it strange, however, that the *'h* should be regularly

As a personal name, we have, without doubt, the richest source of materials concerning the god El, from the literary texts discovered in the ruins of Ugarit. In these texts, El reigns supreme over all the other gods of the Ugaritic pantheon. Several epithets are attributed to him, of which we find some correspondence in the Hebrew Bible (and other Semitic literature). This suggests that the ancient occupants of what eventually became to be known as Israel and Judah, as well as most of the Bronze and Iron Age occupants of the ancient Near East, worshipped El. Yahweh (originally a son of El),[26] later assumed the titles owned by El.

In the Hebrew Bible, *ʾl* 'appears independently 230 times in the OT'.[27] NKB, 49, notes 10 occurrences of *ʾl* in the Hebrew Bible in distinction to *yhwh*.[28] The name also occurs as a plural, denoting gods subordinate to Yahweh,[29] or as a title of Yahweh, claimed by himself.[30] As a general

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unexpressed'.

26 Deut. 32:8.

27 Gen. 14:18, 19, 20, 22; 16:13; 17:1; 21:33; 28:3; 31:13, 29, 31; 33:20; 35:1, 3, 7, 11; 43:14; 46:3; 48:3; 49:25; Ex. 6:3; 15:2, 11; 20:5; 34:6, 34:14; Nu. 12:13; 16:22; 23:8, 19, 22, 23; 24:4, 8, 16, 23; Deut. 3:24; 4:24, 31; 5:9; 6:15; 7:9, 21; 10:17; 28:32; 32:4, 32:8 (reading *ʾl* for *ʾt*), 12, 18, 21; 33:26; Josh. 3:10; 22:22; 24:19; Ju. 9:46; 1 Sam. 2:3; 2 Sam. 22:31, 32, 33, 48; 23:5; Isa. 5:16; 7:14; 8:8, 10; 9:5; 10:21; 12:2; 14:13; 31:3; 40:18; 42:5; 43:10, 12; 44:10, 15, 17; 45:14, 15, 20, 21, 22; 46:6, 46:9; Jer. 32:18; 48:13; 51:56; Ezek. 10:5; 28:2, 9; 31:11; Hos. 2:1; 11:9; 12:1; Jon. 4:2; Mic. 2:1; Nah. 1:2; Mal. 1:9; 2:10, 11; Ps. 5:5; 7:12; 10:11, 12; 16:1; 17:6; 18:3, 31, 33, 48; 19:2; 22:2, 11; 29:1, 3; 31:6, 7; 42:3, 9, 10; 43:4, 21; 50:1; 52:3, 52:7; 55:20; 57:3; 63:2; 68:20, 21, 25, 36; 73:11, 17; 74:8; 77:10, 11, 14, 15; 78:7, 8, 18, 19, 34, 35, 41; 80:11; 82:1; 83:2; 84:3; 85:9; 86:15; 89:7, 8, 27; 90:2; 94:1; 95:3; 99:8; 102:25; 104:21; 106:14, 21; 107:11; 118:27, 28; 136:26; 139:17, 23; 140:7; 146:5; 149:6; 150:1; Job 5:8; 8:3; 5, 13, 20; 9:2; 12:6; 13:3, 7, 8; 15:4, 11, 13, 25; 16:11; 18:21; 19:22; 20:15, 29; 21:14, 22; 22:2, 13, 17; 23:16; 25:4; 27:2, 9, 11, 13; 31:14, 23, 28, 13; 33:4, 6, 14, 29; 34:5, 10, 12, 23, 31, 37; 35:2, 13; 36:5, 22, 26; 37:5, 10, 14; 38:41; 40:9, 19; Prov. 3:27; 30:1, 3; Lam. 3:41; Dan. 9:4; 11:36.

28 Ezek. 28:2, *ʾl*; Isa. 14:13, *kwkby ʾl*; Ps. 82:1, *ʿdt ʾl*; Deut. 32:8, 43, *bny ʾl* (LXX and 4QDeut); Gen. 14:18, 19, 20, 22, *ʾl ʿlywn* (also Nu. 24:16; Deut. 32:8; 2 Sam. 22:14; Ps. 7:17; 9:2; 18:13; 21:7; 46:5; 47:2; 50:14; 57:2; 73:11; 77:11; 78:17, 35, 56; 82:6; 83:18; 87:5; 91:1, 9; 92:1; 97:9; 107:11; Isa. 14:14; Lam. 3:35, 38; Dan. 7:18, 22, 25, 27 (although included here and occasionally elsewhere, evidence from the book of *Daniel* will not be considered, as is also the case with Aramaic materials except Ahiqar); Gen. 17:1, *ʾl šdy*.

29 Ps. 58:2 (*ʾlym* for *ʾlm*); Ex. 15:11 (*bʾlym*); Ps. 29:1, 89:7 (*bny ʾlym*. Cf. Ug. *bn ilm* = *il* +

appellative, it is too numerous to count, as is *ʾlhym*,[31] while *ʾlwh* is found '57 times, and almost entirely in poetry (× 41 in *Job*)'.[32]

Phoenician has few preserved examples of the DN *ʾl*, the most famous being found in the *Phoenician History* of Philo of Byblos.[33]

In Aramaic, *ʾl* is found only in Old Aramaic and a few sayings found in the Sayings section of *Ahiqar*, which no doubt preserve materials from the Old Aramaic period (see my chapter on Ahiqar below). This form is most likely the DN, with *ʾlh* representing the appellative 'God'.[34]

The appellative form *ʾlhy* (*-lhy*), found in Nabatean, 'seems to be a loan from Northern Arabic, especially considering the fact that the majority of Nabatean names are clearly Arabic'.[35] As for Syriac *ʾallaha*, it is extremely uncertain 'whether the Syriac ... belongs to this group or not'.[36] The DN *ʾl* 'as an independent form in Northern Arabic is very uncertain, but it is frequently used to form theophorus proper names.'[37] The DN *ʾil* occurs frequently in OSA, with the use of name patterns found in Amorite personal names. Ethiopic *ʾamlak* is not considered here.

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enclitic *-m?*; *bn ʾlm*, Arslan Tash 1:11.

30 Is. 40:18; 43:12; 45:22; 46:9, *ʾny ʾl*; Hos. 12:1 (cf. Prov. 30:3 [LXX *ʾl lmdny* :: Pope (1955: 14): *ḥkmt ʾl*]); Dan. 11:36, *ʾl ʾlym*; Gen. 33:20, *ʾl ʾlhy yśrʾl*; Nu. 16:22, *ʾl ʾlhy hrwḥt*.

31 'Most usual word for "deity" in the general sense ... appearing about 2,570 times', Murtonen (1952: 25).

32 Murtonen (1952: 25).

33 Eus. *P. E.* 1.10:16.20.

34 See Murtonen (1952: 25) for clarification.

35 Murtonen (1952: 25 and n. 8).

36 See Murtonen (1952: 26 esp. n. 2).

37 Murtonen (1952: 26, esp. nn. 4 and 5).

Abbreviations

ABD	D.N. Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (Doubleday: New York, 1992).
ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan.
ADD	Benz
AHI	*Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions*
AHw	W. Von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Otto Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 1965)
AKM	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ALASP	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts*
ANETS	Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ARMT	*Archives royales de Mari: Transcriptions et traductions* (Paris)
ArS	Aramaic Seals (in Herr 1978)
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute*
AT	Arslan Tash (in textual references to amulets 1 & 2)
Aul-Or.	*Aula-Orientalis*
Aul-Or.Supp.	Aula-Orientalis Supplementa
AWS	West Semitic found in 1st millennium BCE Akkadian sources.
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BASORSS	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Supplement Series*
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BH	Biblical Hebrew
BHS	K. Elliger, W. Rudolph (eds), *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (fourth edition, Stuttgart, 1990).
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament
BO	Biblica et Orientalia
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
BZAW	Beihefte zur *ZAW*
Can.	Canaanite

CAD	I.J. Gelb *et al.* (eds), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Oriental Institute: Chicago, 1964—).
CAI	W.E. Aufrecht, *A Corpus of Ammonite Inscriptions* (Mellen Press: Lewiston 1989).
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CDA	J. Black, A. George & N. Postgate, *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*, 2nd (corrected) printing (Harrasowitz: Wiesbaden, 2000)
CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (Paris, 1881-1952)
CM	Cypro-Minoan
CPU	J.-L. Cunchillos and J.-P. Vita, *Concordancia de palabras ugaríticas en morfología desplegada*. Banco de datos filologícos semíticos noroccidentales (Madrid).
CRB	Cahiers de la Revue Biblique
CS/C-S	Cypro-Syllabic
CS i	Hallo and Younger (1998).
CS ii	Hallo and Younger (2000).
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des Tablettes en Cunéiformes Alphabetiques. Découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939, 2 vols, Texte* (Paris 1963).
CTA	*CTA* textual reference.
d. art.	definite article
DAT	Deir ʿAlla Text (textual reference)
DDD	K. Van Der Toorn, B. Becking and P.W. van der Horst (eds), *Dictionary of Demons and Deities in the Bible* (E.J. Brill: Leiden, 1995)
DDD²	As above, second edition, 1999.
DLU	G. del Olmo-Lete and J. Sanmartín (eds) *Diccionario de la Lengua Ugarítica Vols i & ii* (Aul.Or.Suppl. 7, Sabadell-Barcelona 1996-2000)
DM	F. Aura Jorro, *Diccionario Micénico* 2 Vols. (Madrid, 1999).
DMOA	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui
DNWSI	J. Hoftizer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the Northwest Semitic Inscriptions*. HOS 21 (E.J. Brill: Leiden, 1995).
EB	Extra-biblical Hebrew (inscriptions etc.)
EBB	*Encyclopaedia Biblica (Miqrāʾit), the Bialik Institute*, vol. i (Jerusalem, 1950).
EI	*Eretz Israel*
f./fem.	feminine

KTU[3]	M. Dietrich, O. Loretz and J. Sanmartín, *The Cuneiform Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places*. ALASP 8 (Ugarit-Verlag: Münster, 1995).
KTU	Textual reference for *KTU* (above)
Kypr. Spoud.	ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΑΙ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΙ (Cypriot Studies)
LB	Linear B
lit.	literally
m./masc.	masculine
n.	footnote/note
no./ nr.	number
OA	*Orient Antiquiens*
OAkk.	Old Akkadian
OC	Old Canaanite
Or.	*Orientalia*
Orph. *H.*	Orphica, Hymn (textual reference)
OTS	Oud Testamentische Studiën
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PGM	K. Preizendanz, *Papyri graecae magicae* (Leipzig, 1928).
Ph.	Phoenician
pl.	plural
PRU	*Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit*. 6 Vols. (195[*]-1970, Mission de Ras Shamra, Paris).
Pu.	Punic
QS	Quaderni di semitistica
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RDAC	*Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus*
RES	*Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*
RES	textual reference for *RES* (above)
Ryckmans	G. Rykmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*. i-ii (Louvain, 1934).
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBTh	Studies in Biblical Theology
SEÅ	*Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*
SEL	*Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici*
SGDI	H. Collitz, F. Bechtel, *et al.* (eds), *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, 4 vols in 5 (Göttingen, 1884-1915).

SGRR	Studies in Greek and Roman Religion
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SMSR	*Studi e materiali di Storia delle Religioni*
SP	*Studia Pohl*
SPIB	Scripta Pontifici instituti biblici
Tig.	Tigrean
TLOT	E. Jenni & C. Westermann (eds), *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament* 3 vols. Transl. M.E. Biddle (Hendrickson, Peabody Massachusetts, 1997).
TM	Tell Mardikh (Ebla).
TO i	A. Cacquot, M. Sznycer, A. Herdner, *Textes Ougaritiques i. Mythes et Légendes* (Paris, 1974).
TO ii	A. Cacquot, J.-M. de Tarragon, J.L. Cunchillos, *Textes Ougaritiques ii. Textes religieux, rituels, correspondence* (Paris, 1989).
UCOP	University of Cambridge Oriental Publications
UCPSP	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology
UF	*Ugarit Forschungen*
Ug.	Ugaritic
Ug. i—vii	*Ugaritica* BAH. MRS (Paris)
UT	C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*. AnOr 38 (Pntifical Biblical Institute: Rome, 1969)
Wehr	J.M. Cowan (ed.), *Arabic-English Dictionary. The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. (Otto Harrassowitz: Ithaca, NY, 1979).
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

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